

SCHOOL
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED
STATES

REVISED

Wilbur Coolen.



An immigrant ship entering New York Harbor

SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

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REVISED

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SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

E. P 12

INTRODUCTION

Why should a new *School History of the United States* be written? Chiefly in order to put at the disposition of the upper grades a book embodying a broadly national point of view and presenting adequate treatment of certain topics which hitherto have been too little stressed in the study of American history.

(1) The European background of our history is clearly sketched, with due recognition of our inheritance of language, law, and political methods from England. Due attention is also paid to other influences from overseas.

(2) Great pains have been taken to treat adequately the various sections of the country, which differ somewhat from one another. Hence there are special chapters on the West, the far West, and the new South, as well as a brief but clear account of the thirteen English colonies and of the distribution of American territory among the colonizing nations.

(3) Another important feature is the fullness of treatment of the social and industrial conditions of the colonies and the later United States, for which twelve of the thirty-seven chapters are set apart.

(4) Wars are treated as intense experiences of the American people; the aim is not merely to give the causes and results, but also to show how the problems of raising armies and carrying on the struggles have been solved, and what was the effect on the life of the community. Military and naval movements are subordinated.

(5) A special effort is made to bring home to the minds of children the way in which our government is carried on. The book includes not only brief accounts of elections and political events, but also simple descriptions of important parts of the machinery of government, such as the Federal Convention, national banks, and the tariff.

(6) As one of the main purposes of history is to bring boys and girls to understand such political questions as they themselves are likely to confront, about a third of the book is devoted to the period since the Civil War; the effort has been made so to simplify the questions of currency, banking, transportation, and business combinations, as to make them understood by school children as a part of the problems of their own national and state governments.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

FOREWORD TO TEACHERS

This *School History* is intended first of all to be a textbook which children will study. It is illustrated by pictures and maps which ought to be used as a part of their study; beyond that, it contains references and topics which will make it easy to extend the work somewhat outside of the textbook by additional reading and essay writing. All the work of the children is intended to fix in their minds the impression that history is continuous and that those who came before us were living human beings like ourselves.

Recitations. — The text is written in simple language so as to be easily understood by pupils in the grades. Some subjects, as for example the Federal Convention, banks, slavery, specie and paper currency, conservation, etc., involve ideas which may be novel to the children, but which every American school child can and should acquire.

The questions at the ends of chapters referring to parts of the numbered sections are about twelve hundred in number, and cover the whole text. Most of them, however, cannot be answered by a mere repetition of the text, and children should be encouraged to make all statements in their own words.

Pictures and Maps. — The illustrative material has been chosen with great care so as to make the text clearer. Children should be encouraged to search the pictures for details, and to use the picture references at the ends of chapters to find other illustrations on the same subjects. The maps also will be found directly helpful to the pupil. The teacher ought to bring out geographical details in the recitations and use the black board for further information. Properly taught, political geography is a great aid to history. The chapter references will lead to the use of additional maps.

Topics. — Where the conditions allow, the work of the children will be enlivened if they can do something constructive. Carefully selected references are therefore made to standard histories, especially the briefer ones, and also to easily available sets of sources; for nothing gives such vitality to a child's knowledge as some use of things actually

written by people of past times. The essay subjects offer a good opportunity to connect the work in English with that in history; and the chapter references will lead to good materials for the knowledge necessary to the essay writer. Children should also be encouraged to read stories which have an historical background, and the references provide for that pleasure.

Scope of the Book. — In the Introduction attention is called to the social and economic trend of the volume; the spirit of modern times calls for knowledge of and constant use of this significant side of history. In the nature of things it is not so easy to study conditions and inventions and methods of business as to take up the personal, narrative part of history; but social life, the opening up of the frontier, the growth of mechanical devices, and the improvement of business are among the things that count most in the development of our nation. It is just as important for children to learn how their forefathers worked and lived as to learn about their wars and their government.

Brief List of Desk Books. — Every teacher ought to have at hand a few historical aids, some of which should be at all times available for the use of the pupils. A list of the most important books referred to in the chapter references will be found in the Appendix. Here is a carefully selected list of about twenty works out of which the teacher should choose at least one from each of the four groups for personal and desk use:

1. **Methods and Materials.** American Historical Association, Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in Schools*. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1899.)
 Bourne, H. E., *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and Secondary School*. (N. Y., Longmans, 1902.)
 Channing, E., Hart, A. B., and Turner, F. J., *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*. (Boston, Ginn, 1912.)
History Teachers' Magazine (monthly). (Philadelphia, McKinley, 1909.)
 New England History Teachers' Association, *A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools, Part IV*. (Boston, Heath, 1904.) — *Historical Sources in Schools*. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1902.)
2. **Collection of Sources.** Caldwell, H. W., ed., *Survey of American History*. (Chicago, Ainsworth, 1900.)
 Caldwell, H. W., and Persinger, C. E., eds., *Source History of the United States*. (Chicago, Ainsworth, 1909.)
 Hart, A. B., ed., *American History told by Contemporaries*. (4 vols., N. Y., Macmillan, 1897-1901.) — *American Patriots and Statesmen*. (5 vols., N. Y., Collier's, 1916.) — *Source Book of American History*. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1900.) — *Source Readers in American History*. (4 vols., N. Y., Macmillan, 1902-1903.)

- Hart, A. B., and Channing, Edward, eds., *American History Leaflets*. (36 nos., N. Y., Simmons, 1892-1910.)
- Hill, Mabel, ed., *Liberty Documents, with Contemporary Exposition and Critical Comments*. (N. Y., Longmans, 1901.)
- MacDonald, Wm., ed., *Documentary Source Book of American History*. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1908.)
- 3. Single Volumes and Brief Series of Histories.** Bassett, J. S., *Short History of the United States*. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1913.)
- Epochs of American History*. (3 vols. by Thwaites, R. G.; Hart, A. B.; Wilson, Woodrow. N. Y., Longmans. Rev. eds. about 1914.)
- Home University Library of Modern Knowledge*. (5 vols. by Andrews, C. M.; Smith, T. C.; MacDonald, William; Paxson, F. L.; Haworth, T. L. N. Y., Holt, 1911-1914.)
- The Riverside History of the United States*. (4 vols. by Becker, C. L.; Johnson, A.; Dodd, W. E.; Paxson, F. L. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1916.)
- Fish, C. R., *Development of American Nationality*. (A history of the American People from 1783 to the present. N. Y., American Book Company, 1913.)
- Sparks, E. E., *The United States of America*. (2 vols., N. Y., Putnams, 1904.)
- 4. Maps.** Shepherd, William R., *Historical Atlas*. (N. Y., Holt, 1911, new ed.)

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TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES 1783 to 1916

SCALE OF MILES

0 100 200 300 400

Greenwich 90° 85° 80° 75° 70°

40° 35° 30° 25° 20° 15° 10° 5° 0°

Original 13 Colonies

Territories 1783-1803

Territories 1803-1916

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Line of 1795

Line of 1803

Line of 1819

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PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200

One half scale of map of the United States

1893

CHINA SEA, PACIFIC OCEAN, Sulu Sea, Celebes Sea

Manila, Cebu, Iloilo, Zamboanga

Palawan, Mindoro, Samar, Negros, Panay, Iloilo, Cebu, Mindanao

BRIT. N. BORNEO, S. BORNEO

Long. 124° East 128°

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SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

FORERUNNERS OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1200-1550)

1. **What is the United States?** — Upon any globe that shows the world there will be seen a continent marked “North America.” Across it, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, lies a broad expanse labeled “United States,” which is divided into forty-eight parts called “states.” That is our home, three thousand miles west of the coast of Europe and five thousand miles east of the islands off the coast of Asia.

Hundreds of volumes have been written about the United States, telling of its harbors, its rivers, and its lakes, and describing such natural won-



Nevada Falls (about 600 feet high) in Yosemite National Park, California

ders as Niagara Falls with its plunge of one hundred and sixty feet of bright green water; the marvelous Yosemite

Valley; the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, scooped out of solid rock, in places six thousand feet deep; and Glacier National Park on the northern border. Still, however interesting this land may be, a description of it would belong to geography and not to history; for history is an account of the origin and growth of the people who live upon a land.

2. The American People. — The phrase “the United States” is sometimes loosely applied to the people who live within the country, as for instance: “the United States has a federal government.” We mean by that phrase that the people of the United States live under a federal government. Both at home and abroad, the people of this land are usually known as “Americans,” though the native Indians are also Americans and there are other North and South Americans who do not live within our boundaries and rather resent it that we should think of ourselves as especially “The Americans.”

This *School History of the United States* aims to tell how there came to be an American people and what they have done; for the land is important only because it is inhabited by wide-awake, industrious, and thoughtful men, women, and children. It would take a million books to tell the whole story of the beginnings and growth of the United States, for scores of millions of people have come to this land or have been born here, have lived and died here, have worked and suffered here, in order to make the nation. In one small book we can select only a few people, events, and governments, such as stand out most clearly. We can learn much about the history of our country from the lives of the great leaders who made discoveries, founded colonies, built up the states, and helped to make the American nation. We must also learn what was thought and what was done by the plain common people who did the hard work, fought the battles, and elected the statesmen to office. We must try to see them at work, hunting for furs or fishing or farming, weaving cloth, building ships, opening mines, starting factories, running railroads, digging canals, or manning ships of war. We must learn what sort of governors, presidents, legislatures, congresses, and courts the American people have had; how they have framed

a system of "government by the people." All these things are parts of our history which young Americans ought to know.

3. The United States a Part of the Greater World. — The physical United States, the land and water which make up the face of the country, cannot be cut off by the hand of man from the rest of the North American continent. That continent cannot be set apart from the rest of the western hemisphere; and that hemisphere is not far away from the eastern hemisphere. They are all parts of the same world. So with the people of the United States. They are not a race by themselves, but are made up of descendants of all the races of Europe and of many of the races of Asia and Africa. No one can write a history of the United States without taking into account the other parts of the earth where the ancestors of the present Americans lived.

We must remember that every American, except those of the native Indian race, is an immigrant or the descendant of an immigrant. Nearly all the immigrants to North and South America down to 1820 came from those parts of Europe which lie on the Baltic Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea, or from Africa. Therefore, the first step in the study of our own history is to find out what kind of nations and people discovered and occupied America.

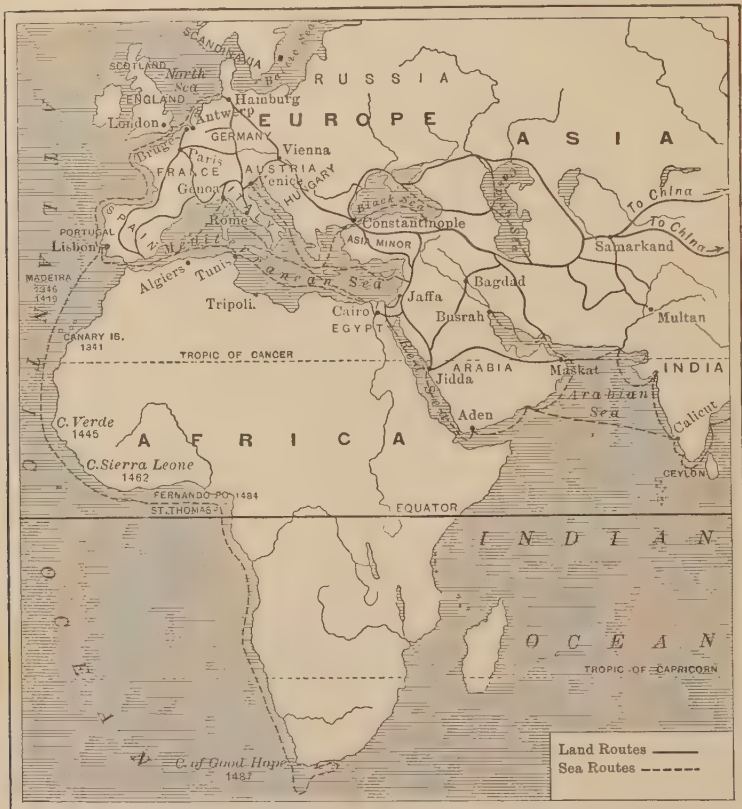
4. European Countries and Commerce (1200-1500). — Out of

the territory which a thousand years before had been occupied by the mighty Roman Empire, a group of European countries slowly grew up — England, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Greek Empire of which Constantinople was the capital. These were all commercial nations; and the boldest and bravest of the people engaged in business



Only the boldest mariners would venture into unknown seas believed to abound in fabled monsters. (From a picture published in 1555)

and made money with which they could build strong walls and hire soldiers to defend them. Cities such as Venice and Genoa were rich enough to fit out powerful navies and to



Early traders' routes between Europe and Asia. Showing also Portuguese discoveries along the west coast of Africa to 1487

raise armies of foot soldiers. Their pack horses and wagons and boats carried goods along the streams and across the mountains to every part of Europe. Their ships sailed to Constantinople and the Black Sea, to Egypt, to England, to the "Low Countries," now Belgium and Holland, on the southern coast of the North Sea. They fought with land robbers and with sea pirates; they fought with enemies of

their country; they fought with each other; and notwithstanding the losses of those wars they grew richer and more populous.

For thousands of years Europe was constantly receiving goods from eastern Asia, a part of the world which was almost as hard to reach as the north pole is now. It seems strange that people should have bought and sold diamonds and peacocks, sugar and spices, pearls and silks, carpets and drugs, without ever seeing the lands from which they came or the people who produced them. For ages caravans had been passing to and fro, overland from northwestern India to the Caspian Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. For ages Arab traders had carried goods from India up the Red Sea to Egypt. Nevertheless almost the only European who was ever moved to go into those distant lands was Marco Polo, a Venetian, who about 1275 made his way overland to China, heard tales about Japan, and after many years got back home to tell his story in a famous book of travels.

This ignorance about Asia was unfortunate, because China and India knew many things that would have been useful to Europeans. The Chinese Empire was older than, and as great as, the ancient Roman Empire. The Chinese, ages before this time, had invented the mariner's compass, gunpowder, the art of printing, the use of paper money, the making of fine porcelain, and other arts not known in Europe. Yet most of Asia was an unknown land to Europeans.

5. The Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation (1300-1550).—About the year 1300 all western Europe began to pass through a sort of awakening which is commonly called the "Renaissance"; that is, the rebirth. Many travelers visited Rome, which though partly in ruins gave them an idea of the wealth and power that the Roman Empire had once possessed. Artists studied the buildings and sculpture, literary men read and translated the ancient writers, and people felt a new desire to learn something about the past and to know what the world was really like. Several Popes were leaders in the Renaissance.

New arts were discovered or brought from distant lands.

A German named Gutenberg invented for himself the art of printing with movable types. Sailors began to use the magnetic compass and felt freer to venture out of sight of land. Learned men began to study chemistry, which was then called alchemy. This new spirit led to a new idea of the education of children so that they might be taught to think more for themselves.

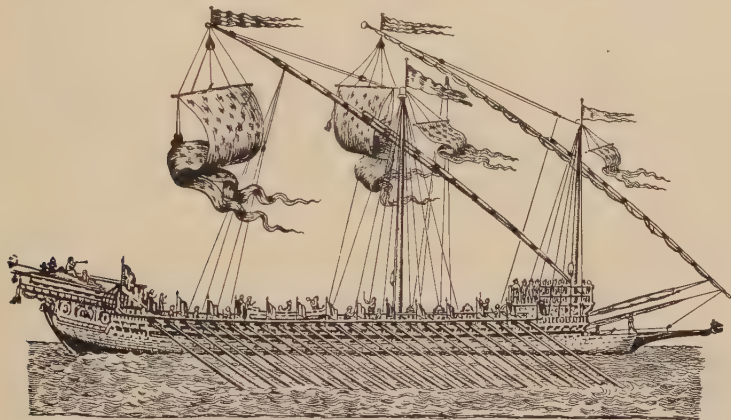
The interest in new things spread to voyages of exploration. At that time nearly everybody in Europe believed that the world was a sort of irregular flat pancake with frozen rivers and burning deserts all around the rim. The best sailors of that time were the Italians. Whenever they came home they made a chart of the lands that they had discovered, for the benefit of other sailors. The method of "sailing on the wind" had been discovered not long before this time and made it safer to go on long voyages in unknown seas, for it was possible to get back home against head winds. To find one's place at sea was very important, and rude instruments, such as the "astrolabe," were invented, by which the navigator could tell how far he was north or south of the equator, though he could not be sure of his easting or westing.

One of the results of the Renaissance was that men began to differ about religion. There was the Armenian Christian Church in Asia Minor and the Greek Christian Church in the Greek Empire and Russia. The Roman Catholic Church was the only church in central and western Europe. In 1517 some German priests, monks, and laymen, headed by Martin Luther, set out to reform the church, and after a few years broke away from it. This movement took the name of the Protestant Reformation. It spread into other countries—Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, France, the Scandinavian countries, and England—and western Europe was thus divided between two religious faiths.

6. European Business Methods (1200-1500).—Under the influence of the Renaissance, which led people to enjoy more luxuries, the trade of Europe increased. The Venetians and the Genoese had most of the trade with the Greek Empire and handled most of the wares that came from the interior

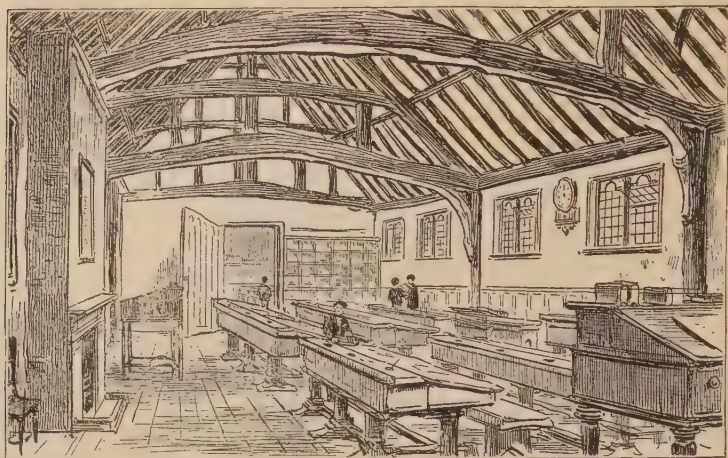
of Asia. From Genoa and Venice there were roads by land into northern Europe; and the Spaniards, French, and English were eager and successful traders. The Germans also were excellent seamen and controlled nearly all the trade in the Baltic Sea. The richest district in Europe was the so-called Low Countries, in which were the cities of Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges with their great manufactures of fine cloths.

Merchants had to seek large profits, for they ran many risks. Vessels were not strongly built, and many were wrecked for lack of lighthouses and charts of the dangerous rocks and shoals. Pirates cruised everywhere, especially in the Mediterranean Sea. When war broke out, and often before it broke out, vessels from one country would be seized by vessels of war on the other side, or by other armed merchant ships. Sailors especially dreaded the row-galleys, propelled by slaves so that they could move against wind and tide, and could thus



A row-galley of the 16th century. The lilies on the banners show that it is French. Notice that the craft also carries sails

capture a vessel that was becalmed. Nothing in all the history of mankind has been more cruel and pitiless than the treatment of the galley slaves, who were chained to their oars and forced to work by the lash. Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* is a lively picture of how business was conducted at that time, how money was borrowed, and how a merchant could be ruined by wrecks and pirates.



Interior of the Grammar School in Stratford-on-Avon where Shakespeare went to school

7. European Ideas that Affected America. — The reason for telling this brief story of European conditions is to make us understand what kind of people crossed the ocean and founded new communities in the New World. For the first colonists did not think of themselves as Americans at all. They were simply Spaniards or Frenchmen or Englishmen, who chose to live across the sea, and who continued to live as nearly as they could in the same way as at home.

Among the ideas which the colonists all brought with them was the European notion that some people were kings, some lords, and some just common people. They felt that whoever was king must be obeyed, no matter what his character was; and that a man or family with a noble name was more important than ordinary people.

Another European idea was that the Christians ought to convert the heathen. The Catholics had for ages sent missionaries among the pagans in Europe, Asia, and Africa. They continued that good work in the New World, and were followed in it by the Protestants. In European cities were schools and universities, and similar schools and colleges were set up in America.

The methods of European trade were used in the New World, and the rival merchants of different countries fought with and plundered each other, much as they did at home.

We Americans ought to be especially thankful for certain European ideas about human freedom. Both Catholics and Protestants thought it wrong to hold Christians in slavery, and hence nearly all the Europeans who settled in America were treated as free persons. On the other hand, most Europeans thought it right to make slaves of pagans and therefore saw no objection to enslaving the Indians in America.

A privilege highly prized in Europe was a written document commonly called a "charter," by which a king granted lands or rights which later kings had not the power to take away. Some such charters were granted to the whole nation, particularly the famous "Magna Charta," or "Great Charter," extorted from King John of England in 1215. In it he promised that "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned — unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." The English colonists never forgot that they were "freemen," and could not be deprived of their liberty so long as they obeyed the laws.

Another form of charter was a grant from a king to an individual or an association or "company," which gave the right to plant colonies and to govern the settlers. Such charters were the beginnings of the English colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts.

8. Summary. — The foregoing chapter is a brief account of the people and the countries from which the people of the United States have sprung.

The words "United States" mean the land in which we live, and also the American people who live here. This history tells how they came to this continent, what they have done, and what sort of country they have built up.

The people of western and southern Europe, from which America was colonized, were strong, prosperous, and fond of trade. They received goods from Asia, though they never went there. About the year 1300 there arose among them

what we call the Renaissance, a period in which people began to write new books, make new inventions, think out new forms of religion and government, and explore new countries. The Renaissance was followed by the Protestant Reformation, which divided western Europe into two religious groups.

One of the results of the Renaissance was a greater interest in strange countries, and many voyages were made in spite of the dangers of shipwreck and pirates. From these countries, after the discovery of America, came thousands of immigrants who looked upon themselves not as Americans but as Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Spaniards that had chosen to live across the ocean from their home country. They brought with them their home ideas about kings and nobles, about the church and education, about trade, freedom, and the privilege of doing business or founding colonies under a written charter which could not be taken away from them.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 1) 1. What is meant by the words "United States"? 2 (For an essay). Describe one of the following: (a) Niagara Falls; (b) Grand

Canyon of the Colorado; (c) Yosemite Valley; (d) Glacier National Park. 3. What is the "history" of a country?

(§ 2) 4. Who are "The Americans"? 5. Why is it hard to write the history of the United States? 6. What things should be treated in a history of the United States?

(§ 3) 7. Is the United States geographically separated from the rest of the world? 8. Are the people of the United States a separate race? 9. Who are the immigrants?

(§ 4) 10. What were the principal European countries when colonization began? 11. How did the Europeans carry on trade? 12. What products came from Asia? 13 (For an essay). Account of Marco Polo's travels. 14. What did the Chinese do for civilization?

(§ 5) 15. What was the "Renaissance"? 16. What were some of the early inventions? 17. How did the early peoples navigate the seas? 18. What was the Reformation?

(§ 6) 19. How were goods distributed through Europe? 20. What were the richest parts of Europe? 21 (For an essay). Account of pirate life. 22. What were galley slaves?

(§ 7) 23. Mention some European ideas brought by the early colonists. 24. What was a king? 25. What was slavery? 26. What was a charter? 27. What was a trading company? 28. What was a colony?



Columbus discovered land in America, October 12, 1492

CHAPTER II

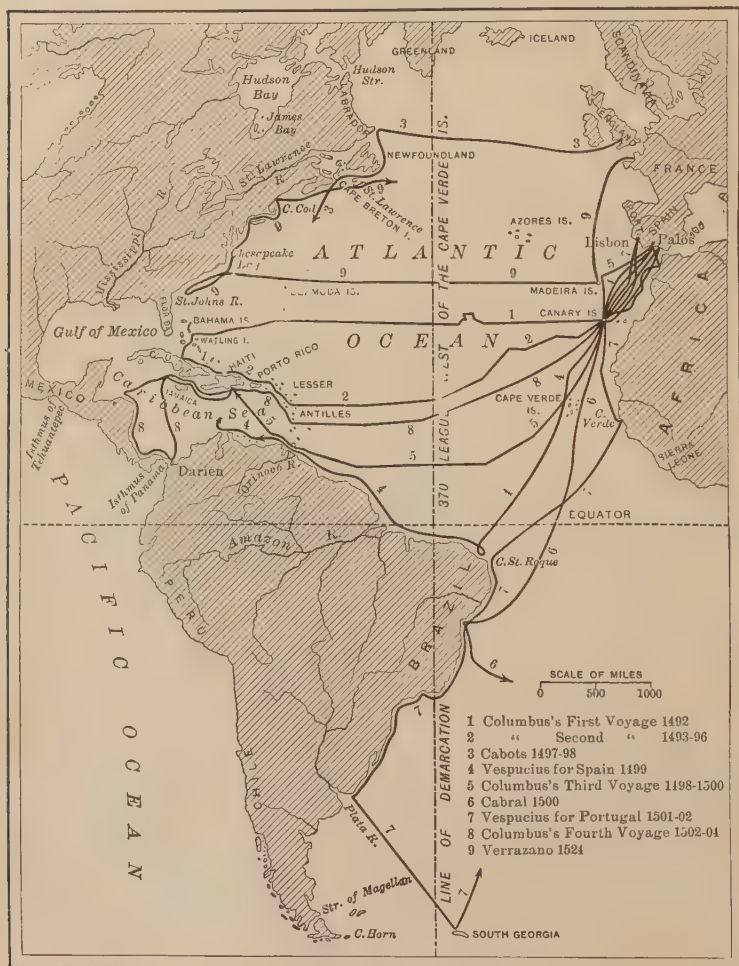
DISCOVERY AND DISCOVERERS (1000-1604)

9. Discoveries West and East (985-1487). — When Europeans knew so little of neighbors who could be reached by a land journey eastward, it is not strange that they had no knowledge of wild people who were living in an unknown land at the distance of several weeks' journey to the westward across an untraveled sea.

Yet in one part of the known world there was a tradition of such a land and people. The Scandinavians, often called Norsemen, were the boldest people in Europe, splendid sailors and great fighters. Some of them occupied Iceland. In the year 985 a party of Icelanders reached Greenland and little colonies were planted there. In the year 1000 an Icelander named Leif Ericson, "the Lucky," sailed beyond Greenland to a coast farther south which is now supposed to have been Labrador or the islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. According to certain "sagas," or traditions handed down by word of mouth, the Norsemen found "self-sown wheat," "vines," and "grapes," which perhaps were only wineberries. Some natives, whom they called "skraelings, swarthy men and ill-looking," came in skin canoes to meet them; "even the hair of their heads was ugly." After a few voyages the Norsemen ceased going to America and the story of their voyages seems not to have been known outside of Iceland.

In fact, most Europeans were not interested in western voyages. They wanted to find a road eastward by sea. Their object was to avoid the Ottoman Turks, from central Asia, who about the year 1300 broke into the Greek Empire, occupied Asia Minor, finally captured Constantinople (1453), and pushed up through the Balkan region into Hungary.

They were a rude people who could not keep order on the land routes into Asia. Somewhat later they captured Egypt also and cut off the Red Sea route to India. Hence the European merchants wanted to find a direct passage by sea; and the Portuguese, beginning about 1420, sent ships down the west coast of Africa, hoping to sail around that con-



Routes of early voyages to America

continent (map, page 14). Finally, in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope and the open sea to the eastward, and it was expected that the Portuguese would shortly reach the coast of Asia by water. But such a route to India would be roundabout and more than 10,000 miles long.

10. Columbus Discovers America (1492).— If the world was really flat like a pancake, the Portuguese had followed around the edge and there was no other sea route to the Orient; but suppose the world was a globe—then anybody could get to China and India by sailing directly westward. The idea that the world is round was a very old one, but had been rather lost sight of, till it was taken up by a Genoese sailor named Christopher Columbus. He was born in Genoa, probably in 1451, the son of a wool worker. He sailed in some of the African voyages, and visited Iceland. He turned his mind to this question of westward sailing and asked advice of an Italian astronomer, Toscanelli, who assured him that the world is round, sent him a map, and guessed that the distance from Portugal westward to the continent of Asia was only about 6000 miles. It is really about 12,000 miles. Columbus figured out that Japan must be 4000 miles away.

Columbus was a poor man and little known, and he tried in vain to interest the king of Portugal and the king of England and the king of France. With great difficulty he got the attention of Queen Isabella of Spain and her husband, King Ferdinand. They fitted him out with ninety men and three little vessels. Setting sail from Palos in 1492 he stopped for a time at the Canary Islands, and then pushed out into unknown seas. After a thirty-three days' voyage on a landless sea, during which he sailed about 3200 miles, he landed October 12, 1492, on a little island, which the Indians called Guanahani, in the Bahama group north of Cuba. He carried on shore the royal flag of Spain and took possession of the new land for Spain.

Columbus did not in the least realize the greatness of his discovery. The natives were ready to worship these

strange beings who wore armor that seemed to them iron skins, and who could shoot thunder out of iron tubes. Columbus thought these people were Asiatics, and expected to find the rich cities of Japan or China before long.



An Italian knight in the beautiful armor of the 15th century

In a few days he came to the coast of Cuba and then to another large island which he called Hispaniola, now Haiti. Leaving here a few men, who made the first Spanish colony in America, he reached home in safety. Throughout Spain the people were excited by his story, by the savages he had brought back with him, and by a few specimens of gold. Nobody seemed to doubt that Columbus had proved the world to be round by sailing westward to Asia.

11. The Demarcation Line (1493-1498). — Ferdinand and Isabella at

once began to fit Columbus out for another voyage. The Portuguese complained that the Spaniards were trying to compete with their sea route by getting to India first. To prevent disputes between the two nations, Pope Alexander VI (in 1493) issued a "bull" — that is, a written decree or order — that a "demarcation line" should be drawn north and south through the middle of the Atlantic; he decided that the Portuguese were to have all of the new discoveries to the east of the line and the Spaniards all to the west. The two countries next year agreed to this principle, but moved this line to the position shown on page 24. Therefore, when a Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and landed in India in 1498, the Spaniards did not object.

This settlement left out of account the fact that if one party sailed east and the other west, sooner or later they must meet somewhere in Asia. Finally that matter was arranged by

drawing the imaginary "demarcation line" right around the world.

No other European country ever felt bound by this division of the world, and in course of time England, France, Holland, Sweden, and Russia all claimed a right to discover and settle islands and continents anywhere in America or Asia.

12. Later Voyages of Columbus (1493-1504).—In the eleven years from 1493 to 1504 Columbus made three voyages to America, discovered many islands in the West Indies, coasted part of South America, including the mouth of the Orinoco River, and skirted the Isthmus of Panama. His colony of Hispaniola did not flourish and he fell into disfavor with the Spanish sovereigns. Fourteen years after his first discovery he died a broken man.

Columbus was a fearless sailor and a great discoverer. He expected to find the civilized and wealthy people told about by European travelers in Asia. He dreamed of a splendid fortune, part of which could be devoted to a new crusade on the pagans who held the Holy Land. His great merits were his wonderful pluck, his belief that he could do what had never been done before, and his ability to make his unwilling sailors continue the first voyage till it was successful.

13. Discoveries by Rival Nations (1497-1524).—Meanwhile the Portuguese were spreading far eastward, where they conquered a magnificent empire in India, Ceylon, the Spice Islands, and China. In 1500 one of their captains, Cabral, on a voyage to India, sailed so far west that he struck the



Columbus Monument, erected in New York on the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America

coast of Brazil. It was found that the demarcation line passed to the westward of this part of South America; hence some Portuguese settled there, and their descendants are the Brazilians of to-day.

Within about fifteen years after the discovery by Columbus it was known that the newly-found lands were not part of China or Japan or India; and the question arose, what name should be given to them. A Venetian sailor, Americus Vesputius, had sailed in behalf of Spain and then of Portugal along the continent of South America, which was clearly no part of Asia. Hence in 1507 one Hylacomylus ("Forest-Lake-Miller"), an obscure geographer in Germany, suggested that the part of the world thus discovered be called "Amerige; that is, the land of Americus, or America." The name thus first applied to South America eventually came to be used for both the new continents.

The king of England was roused by the reports of Columbus and in 1497 he gave authority to John Cabot, an Italian, to sail west across the ocean. Cabot found land — probably the island of Cape Breton — and thus eventually gave the English a claim to a share in America. He also reported that codfish were plentiful in those seas; and fishermen at once began to come out from western Europe to the banks of Newfoundland.

A second rival to Spain was France, which began to show an interest in 1524, when the king sent out Verrazano, another Italian. He coasted North America from the present Georgia to Nova Scotia, putting in on the way at what is now New York harbor. This voyage became the basis of later French claims to territory in North America.

14. First Voyage Around the World (1519-1522). — One reason why Spain paid little attention to the voyages of other nations was that there was still hope of finding open water through which Asia might be reached. Several Spanish ships coasted along the Gulf of Mexico and also the mainland as far north as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but found no strait leading west. In 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama, or Darien as it was then called, and reported that the distance be-

tween the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean — or South Sea, as he called it — was only a few miles.

The next step of the Spaniards was to send out Magellan, a Portuguese sea captain, to seek a passage farther south (map, pages 36, 37). In 1519 he set sail with five small vessels and touched at the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, where he first tasted pineapples, sugar cane, and sweet potatoes. He then entered the mouth of the Plata River. Proceeding down the coast, he discovered a passage which wound westward among snow-clad mountains, and which is now called the Strait of Magellan.

It took great courage to push into these unknown waters and to reach the Pacific Ocean. Magellan sailed northward, the first white voyager in the Pacific Ocean, until he reached land at the Ladrone Islands. Then he came upon a large group of islands which were afterwards called the Philippines, for King Philip of Spain. Magellan was killed by the natives there, but one of his vessels kept on around the Cape of Good Hope, and after three years' absence returned to Spain loaded with valuable spices. In the end Spain held the Philippine Islands, though strictly they were in the region intended for Portugal by the demarcation agreement.

15. The Interior of North America. — About thirty years after the first discovery of America the Spaniards began to plant colonies on the continent of North America. Up to that time they knew nothing of the interior except what they could gather from the Indians, whose languages they did not understand. It interests us to know what sort of land they discovered, for they explored parts of the region that is now the United States.

The Spaniards knew that there were splendid harbors all along the Atlantic coast, and rivers which must come down from higher country inland. They did not realize that there was a spine of mountains which we now call the Appalachians, behind which there was a magnificent system of rivers and lakes; or that far to the west rose the majestic mountain chains which later came to be called the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. They did not guess that in the interior were great deposits of iron, copper, lead, zinc, gold,

silver, salt, sulphur, and mercury; stone and marble for building; clay for brick and pottery; coal for fuel; oil and natural gas for fuel and light.

When they came to explore the interior, they found it covered with endless woods, which in the far Northwest and Southwest stretched beyond the Mississippi. These thick woods were due to the abundant rainfall which has made the



Mountain of the Holy Cross, in Colorado, 14,000 feet high. One of the high peaks of the Rocky Mountains

eastern United States so rich; for rain causes good crops. The climate of the region is, we now know, very favorable to farming. The snow of the northern winters helps some crops, especially wheat, and makes abundant grass and hay for animals. In the South it is warm enough for cotton and for such fruits as the orange and lemon. America is the native land of the potato, Indian corn, and tobacco; and in one or another part of the country the farmers can raise wheat, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, rice, and other grains; apples, peaches, cherries, strawberries, and many other fruits; sweet potatoes, squashes, beets, and other vegetables; grass, alfalfa, and other forage crops for horses and cattle; flax for linseed oil, hemp for cloth and cordage, cotton for clothing; even olives, dates, and sugar cane. The woods furnish timber for houses,

ships, bridges, fences, and other uses. In the early days many animals roamed through the forests and over the prairies. Of these the most valuable for their skins or furs were the bear,



A beaver family. In the early days the beaver skin was the standard by which the settlers valued guns, clothing, and other furs. Beaver fur was an important export of this country

the fox, the beaver, the deer, and the buffalo.

16. The Native Indians. — Down to the coming of the Europeans the only people in America were the natives whom we call Indians. Their skins were brown or copper-colored, but they were often called “red men” because many of them covered their faces with red paint. Nobody knows when or how their ancestors reached America. Some of them must have lived here thousands of years

ago, when the mastodons were still roaming the plains, for tablets have been found in Iowa, scratched with rude pictures of those beasts. In Mexico and Peru there are ruins of stone buildings wonderfully carved, dating back nobody knows how far; and some of these buildings are very like certain temples and palaces in southern Asia. Still, if any wanderers came from other continents, the tradition of them was lost ages ago.

The native Indians were divided into many nations or tribes, large and small, which were like great families. The land that they tilled and their hunting grounds belonged to the whole tribe, and not to the members. The various tribes spoke many different languages, none of them like any tongue known in the Old World.

In the region that is now called the United States, most of the Indians were savages. They had no domestic animals except dogs; but horses and cattle were brought over later from Europe. Some of the tribes wandered from place to place and lived chiefly by hunting and fishing. Others, such as the Cherokees and the Navahos, were settled in villages and raised corn and vegetables for food. The Pueblo Indians, in the southwestern part of the country, built curious houses of sun-dried clay, like vast, rude apartment houses; each house stood by itself, and was the home of a whole village.

Large mounds of various shapes, such as animals, temples, and forts, were found widely scattered over the western country, and it is supposed that they were built by ancestors of the present Indians. In many parts of the country can still be traced "Indian trails," which were paths tramped down into the soil by bands of men following one another in single file, year after year.

The tribes had chiefs or headmen, whom they hardly felt obliged to obey. Not even in the more civilized regions of Mexico and Peru was there what we should call a regular government, with laws, taxes, and protection for life and property. The Indians made few inventions, and had no religion except heathen rites. Most of them were fierce and cruel, and little wars between the tribes were going on much of the time. They proved to be dangerous enemies to the whites.

17. Spanish Colonies on the Continent (1521-1533). — Soon after the death of Columbus the Spaniards learned that there was a populous country to the westward which was called Mexico; so Hernando Cortes, with about 500 Spanish soldiers, marched into the land, found a quantity of gold, killed thousands of natives, robbed them of their treasures, and set up a permanent colony called New Spain or Mexico (1521). Twelve years later Francisco Pizarro broke up the similar nation of the Incas, an Indian tribe in South America, seized an immense quantity of gold, and founded the Spanish colony of Peru.

These and other colonies were settled by "conquistadores":

that is, Spanish leaders to whom the land was parceled out. For a long time they held the inhabitants practically as slaves. A few gold mines were found; and both in Mexico and in Peru immensely valuable silver mines were discovered,

and worked by the forced labor of the Indians. Most of the silver was sent to Spain, which for a time seemed the richest country in the world. This easy way of getting money taught the Spaniards to depend too much on the colonies and too little on their own efforts, and Spain soon began to decline.



Carvings on an Aztec Temple near Cuernavaca, Mexico. The keeper is a descendant of the original builders

18. Spanish Inland Discoveries (1513-1605).—As early as 1513 Ponce de Leon landed on a coast which he named Florida. Soon after the conquests of Mexico and Peru, the Spaniards

tried to open up the territory north and northwest of the Gulf of Mexico. They had already discovered the Mississippi River, and in 1539 Hernando De Soto with about 600 men started from Tampa Bay, Florida, hoping to find another country like Mexico. For two years he wandered through what is now Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and all the way he had to fight with wild tribes. Then he came out on the banks of the Mississippi, which he found to be "half a league over, very deep and very rapid, being always full of trees and timber; the water very thick and muddy."

De Soto died and was buried in the river; but the 300 men who were left, after great hardships, at last reached Mexico.

A region farther west was reached by Coronado, who in 1540 started northward from Mexico in search of seven rich cities which had been reported to be located somewhere near the Rio Grande. He reached the seven cities to find that they



The Spanish explorations in North America. The shaded area shows the extent of the country explored by them

were only poor pueblo villages occupied by the Zuñi and other tribes in what is now New Mexico. Coronado set out in further search of a region called Quivira and marched as far as what is now eastern Kansas, without finding anything remarkable except herds of buffalo which he called "crook-backed oxen." After two years of vain wandering, he marched back to the city of Mexico, "very sad and very weary, completely worn out and shamefaced."

Some years later (1565) the Spaniards founded St. Augustine

in Florida, now the oldest town within the United States. In 1605 a Spanish settlement was made at Santa Fe, New Mexico, and then others near by. After being uprooted once by Indians, these settlements revived and have continued to this day.

19. Exploration of the Pacific Coast (1521-1776).

—After the Spaniards conquered Mexico and Peru, they kept up a trade route across the Isthmus of Panama and another across

the broader Isthmus of Tehuantepec; and they built vessels on the Pacific coast. Cortes began to explore the coast northward, but it was some years before the Spaniards learned that the Gulf of California was shut off from the open sea by the peninsula of Lower California. In 1542 the Spaniard Cabrillo probably went as far north as San Diego and Santa Barbara, and his pilot Ferillo discovered and named Cape Mendocino, the most western projection of California.

Other Spaniards sailed on northward, but somehow they all missed the three most striking points on the coast. Not one seems to have entered San Francisco Bay, or the mouth of the Columbia River, or the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Indeed, it was two hundred years more before it was proved that Siberia and Alaska do not make a continuous land. It was longer than that (1776) before the Spaniards planted a colony on the spacious harbor of San Francisco.

20. French and English in America (1534-1580).—While the Spaniards and the Portuguese were planting colonies, two other nations made attempts to take a share of the New World. Captain Jacques Cartier made voyages for France to the gulf



The routes of



Drake and Magellan around the world

and river of St. Lawrence (1534-37); and thirty years later a party of the French Protestants, who were commonly called Huguenots, tried to plant a colony in what is now South Carolina, and then in Florida. The Spaniards destroyed the colony (1565); and the French ceased to settle in this pleasant region and to dispute the Spanish claims.

The English and the Spaniards were friendly at this time, and until Elizabeth became queen of England (1558). She was a strong Protestant, and England became the most active Protestant country in Europe. From that time suspicion and hatred arose between the two countries.

Their hostility was increased by the "English sea dogs," who were as good sailors as the Spaniards, and daring fighters. Partly on their own account, and partly with the good will of Queen Elizabeth, they began to trade with the Spanish colonies in America, then attacked them, and then tried to plant colonies of their own in America.

The most noted of the sea dogs was Francis Drake, who, in 1577, in a time of peace and without leave from his own government, went on a cruise to the Pacific. He sailed through the Strait of Magellan and then ran northward, capturing

ships and plundering wherever he could. None but Spanish ships had ever before been seen in those waters. Drake wintered at a spot not far north of San Francisco, still called Drake's Bay. Then he bore off westward and got safely home in 1580, thus making the second voyage around the world. Queen Elizabeth pretended to be very angry, but he gave her a part of his spoils of jewels, and she came on board his ship and then and there made him "Sir Francis Drake." He and other Englishmen again attacked Spanish towns and cities along various parts of the American coast.

21. The Raleigh Colonies (1578-1587). — The two men who tried hardest to build up English colonies in America were the half brothers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. Gilbert vainly attempted to found a colony in Newfoundland under the first colonial charter ever granted to an Englishman (1578). Sir Walter Raleigh was not only a brave man and a good sailor, but a courtier who won the favor of the queen by laying his rich cloak on a muddy spot so that she might pass over dry-shod. His idea was to plant colonies which could live on the Indian trade, and at the same time be on hand to attack the Spanish colonies and fleets.

Three different times between 1585 and 1587 he sent out settlers to Roanoke Island (map, page 49), on a part of the American coast, which Queen Elizabeth named Virginia after herself, as the Virgin Queen. All these colonies failed for lack of food or from disease or from attacks by Indians; and the Spaniards continued to claim all the coast along which their exploring vessels had ever sailed.

22. The Invincible Armada (1588). — The Spaniards, who were the proudest people and the best soldiers and shipbuilders in all Europe, resolved to give the English sea dogs enough of fighting. Therefore they prepared a fleet which they called the "Invincible Armada," consisting of 137 vessels and carrying 27,000 men, and in 1588 they set sail for the conquest of England.

They thought it would be an easy task; but the English swarmed out of their ports with a large fleet of handy vessels,

fought the Spaniards all the way up the English Channel, scared them with fire ships, and drove them into the sea to the east of England. While the Spaniards were trying to sail back around the north of Scotland, their fleet was scattered by a great tempest. Less than half the ships ever got back to Spain.

The result was that the English found out the weakness of Spain. Therefore they could no longer be held back from taking a share of the land and the riches of America. After a few years the Spaniards and the English made peace again, but the English would not agree to keep out of the unoccupied lands in America claimed by the Spaniards. Thus the way was cleared for planting permanent English colonies.

23. Summary. — This chapter describes how the New World was discovered, and the exploration of the coasts and the inland country down to the end of the war between England and Spain (1604).

The Scandinavians, commonly called Norsemen, reached the northeast coast of America about the year 1000 but soon lost sight of it. Europeans began to think about sailing west when the Turks choked up the old routes to Asia by land and sea. Columbus was the first man to act on the belief that the world is a globe, by starting to sail west to Asia; in 1492 he discovered the West Indies and afterwards the coast of Central and South America.

By a demarcation line, first suggested by the Pope, the Portuguese agreed to keep out of the "West Indies" if the Spaniards would keep out of the "East Indies." England and France did not recognize this division of the newly revealed parts of the world, and so discovered parts of the coast of North America on their own account. Magellan, for the Spaniards, rounded South America and discovered the Philippine Islands, and one of his ships went on around the world.

The Spaniards made a few inland explorations and began to discover some of the rich land of the interior; for the present area of the United States is one of the richest parts of the world for farming, fishing, and mining. The Spaniards met

the Indians, some of whom had large towns and were partly civilized, but most of whom lived as savages in wild tribes. The Spaniards conquered Mexico and Peru, and discovered the Mississippi and the great plains west of it. They also coasted up the west side of the continent but failed to find the great harbors and valleys of the Pacific coast.

The English sea dogs harassed and plundered the Spaniards both in the West Indies and on the Pacific coast, and one of them, Raleigh, tried to plant colonies in what was then called Virginia. The French also explored the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and vainly tried to plant colonies farther south. The Spaniards and the English finally went to war, and the Invincible Armada of the Spaniards was defeated in 1588. This disaster weakened the Spaniards so that they could not prevent the English from colonizing America.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 9) 1. Who were the Norsemen? 2. How did Leif Ericson discover America? 3. Why did the Turkish conquests lead to discoveries of new lands?



The Spanish Armada was defeated by the English fleet, July 29, 1588

(§ 10) 4. Who was Christopher Columbus? 5. How did Columbus discover America? 6. What did Columbus think he had discovered? 7. How much did Columbus discover on his first voyage?

(§ 11) 8. Why were the Portuguese alarmed? 9. What was the "demarcation line"?

(§ 12) 10. What additional voyages did Columbus make? 11. What kind of man was Columbus?

(§ 13) 12. How was Brazil settled? 13. How did the continent come to be called America? 14. What did Cabot discover? 15. What did Verazano discover?

(§ 14) 16. How and when was the Pacific Ocean discovered? 17. Describe Magellan's voyage. 18. How did the Philippines become Spanish?

(§ 15) 19 (For an essay). What did the Spanish explorers find in the interior of North America? 20. What are the principal mineral products of the interior? 21. What are the principal agricultural products of the interior? 22. Why is the eastern United States such a good farming section?

(§ 16) 23. How did the Indians come to America? 24. What were the Indian tribes? 25. How did the Indians live? 26. What were Indian mounds and trails? 27. What kind of government did the Indians have?

(§ 17) 28 (For an essay). Conquest of: (a) Mexico, (b) Peru. 29. What made Spain rich?

(§ 18) 30. What did De Soto discover? 31. What did Coronado discover? 32. What were the earliest Spanish towns in Florida and New Mexico?

(§ 19) 33. What did Cabrillo discover on the Pacific? 34. Why did the Spaniards fail to push their discoveries on the Pacific?

(§ 20) 35. What early attempts did the French make to colonize America? 36. How did hostilities arise between the English and the Spanish? 37 (For an essay). Drake's cruise around the world.

(§ 21) 38. What were the Gilbert and Raleigh colonies? 39. Why did the Raleigh colonies fail?

(§ 22) 40. Why did the Spaniards send out the Invincible Armada? 41 (For an essay). Defeat of the Armada.

CHAPTER III

FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS (1607-1660)

24. Immigrants to the New World (1492-1700). — During the first hundred years after the discovery of America, all the Europeans who actually colonized America were Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese. They belonged to the Latin race; that is, they were in part descended from the ancient Romans, and spoke languages derived from the Latin tongue. In the next hundred years (1600 to 1700) came another group, made up of English, Dutch, Swedish, and German colonists, nearly all Protestants. They sprang from the Teutonic races of northern Europe, who were descended in great part from the ancient Germans and their relatives, the Scandinavians.

What led these various people to leave their old and settled lands for the New World? Among the reasons were the following: (1) Farmers and workmen were poor and struggling, and hoped for a better living for themselves and their children in a new country. (2) Business men were attracted by the good chances in the fur trade and fisheries. (3) Speculators fancied that rich mines of gold and silver would be found. (4) Some men who had means and influence at home liked the idea of becoming social and political leaders in a new colony. (5) A few came over to get away from what they thought was interference with their religious faith; among them were Catholics, English Puritans, and German Protestants. (6) Many thousands of convicts and negro slaves were taken across the ocean against their will.

25. Crossing the Sea. — Emigration from Europe was a serious thing. The ships were all small, and the whole space for passengers was below the decks. On some ships the sailors spread sand over the bottom of the hold; there the passengers built a fire and grouped around it as though they were on land. All the travelers, even the richest, were subject to

long and miserable voyages — three weeks to two or three months on the sea. Provisions were scanty and often bad. One passenger says, “There was no rest night or day — it was a Babel. I have never in my life heard of such a disorderly ship. It was confusion without end.” If a disease broke out, such as the dangerous “ship fever,” it might run through the whole company.

Once arrived in the New World, the first colonists had to build their own houses and clear the land by cutting down the trees. At first they did not know how to hunt for game or to raise Indian corn; and several of the early English colonies had a “starving time” and would have died out, had not food been brought to them from England. The Indians could give little help, for often they had not enough for themselves.



The anopheles mosquito, which spreads malaria, stands on its head

So little was known of the country back of the coast that the early settlers missed the best land, and settled in low and marshy ground, because it was convenient to the sea. Hence they caught fevers; for it was not till our time that people

learned that malarial fever is caused by the bite of a mosquito which is bred in stagnant water. What with disease, famine, and Indian attacks, more than three fourths of the English who landed within the first twenty years died not long after their arrival.

26. The English Puritans (1603-1620). — Among the early English settlers were many Protestants who inclined to strict doctrines. They thought that the Reformation in the English Church (§ 5) had not gone far enough; and they held meetings, wrote books, and preached sermons in favor of what they declared to be a purer kind of religion — hence they were called “Puritans.” Part of the Puritans, who claimed the right of every congregation to choose its own minister, were called “Independents” or “Separatists.”

When Queen Elizabeth died (1603), a Scotchman, James I, came to the throne of England. He looked upon the Puritans as enemies who were trying to take away part of his royal power. When a delegation of them came to ask him for reforms in the church, his answer was, "I shall make them conform themselves [that is, accept the established church], or I will harry them out of the land or else do worse." And the king ordered many of the Puritans to be arrested and imprisoned. Therefore, when they heard of plans for planting colonies in the New World, some of the Puritans were eager to go as emigrants, so as to be free from the control of the king and to worship in what they considered the real Christian manner.

27. English Trading Companies (1606-1607). — The main reason for planting English colonies in America was the belief that America was a rich and fruitful land where profits could be made. Large sums had first to be spent in fitting out a colony, and a new method was now tried for bringing the necessary means together. This was the joint stock trading company, in which investors could buy shares; if the company failed they could lose only what they had put into it, and not their whole fortunes.

In 1606 a number of English gentlemen of wealth joined in securing from King James a charter which would give the right to form two companies to plant colonies in North America. One of these, the London Company, was to send out colonists to the southern part of the coast, and the other, the Plymouth Company, was to settle farther north. The attempt of the Plymouth Company to make a settlement on what is now the coast of Maine was a failure. The London Company, however, in 1607 sent an expedition in three ships which anchored a little way up the James River (map, page 49). There the 104 colonists landed and built a town, which they named Jamestown for their king.

This was a bold step, for the Spanish government had warned the English that Virginia was their territory and that they would stamp out the little colony. But the English insisted that John Cabot had "discovered these northern

parts" (§ 13); and they paid no attention to Spanish claims upon coasts where Spain had no colonies and showed no intention of settling.

28. Virginia, the First Southern Colony (1607-1618). — The James River colony, which from the first was called Virginia, was for a time all but a failure. The Indians in the neighborhood offered little trade, and soon became hostile. The English searched for gold mines and found none. The few farmers did not understand the soil of Virginia; and the weavers, tanners, wine makers, and silk workers whom the company sent out found no suitable material on which to work.

Though the owners of the Virginia colony in England were losing money, they held together, and in 1609 secured a new charter giving them a definite stretch of the coast, 400 miles long, and thence back into the wilderness "up into the Land throughout from Sea to Sea, West and Northwest." The company supposed that the Pacific Ocean was only a few hundred miles back, about where Lake Erie lies.

The man who appears as the biggest and best in the little colony was Captain John Smith, who had been a sailor, soldier, explorer, and map maker. He was almost the only settler who had the curiosity to explore the interior. He explored once too often, for he was caught by a band of Indian braves and delivered over to the powerful chief Wahunsonacock, commonly called Powhatan. Some years later in England, Smith published a statement that the Indians were on the point of knocking out his brains when Pocahontas, the little daughter of the chief, rushed forward and saved him from the club. The English afterwards captured Pocahontas, and thus compelled her father to keep peace with them. Then she married one of the colonists, John Rolfe.

About ten years after the founding of the colony, the Virginians realized that they had the best of land for raising tobacco. Some of Sir Walter Raleigh's men (§ 21) had brought back the weed from America, and (so says tradition) Raleigh taught Queen Elizabeth to smoke. King James hated tobacco and wrote a violent book against it, but his



In April, 1614, Pocahontas was married to John Rolfe

subjects were eager to buy the fragrant plant at three shillings (about 75 cents in our money) a pound. From that time on, tobacco was the main crop and the principal source of wealth for Virginia and for the neighboring lands.

29. Later Virginia (1619-1660). — For a time the Virginia colonists were looked upon as existing only to make money for their company; but in 1619 they were allowed to hold an “assembly” of twenty-two members elected by their neighbors. This was the first American legislature. It sat several days and passed laws against idleness, gambling, drunkenness, fine clothes, Sabbath breaking, and other offenses. The Virginians never gave up this precious privilege of electing an assembly, and as fast as new colonies were planted they insisted on the same right to take part in governing themselves.

The London Company fell under the displeasure of the king, and in 1624 the charter was taken away. Of the 14,000 immigrants who had gone out, only 1200 were then left alive.

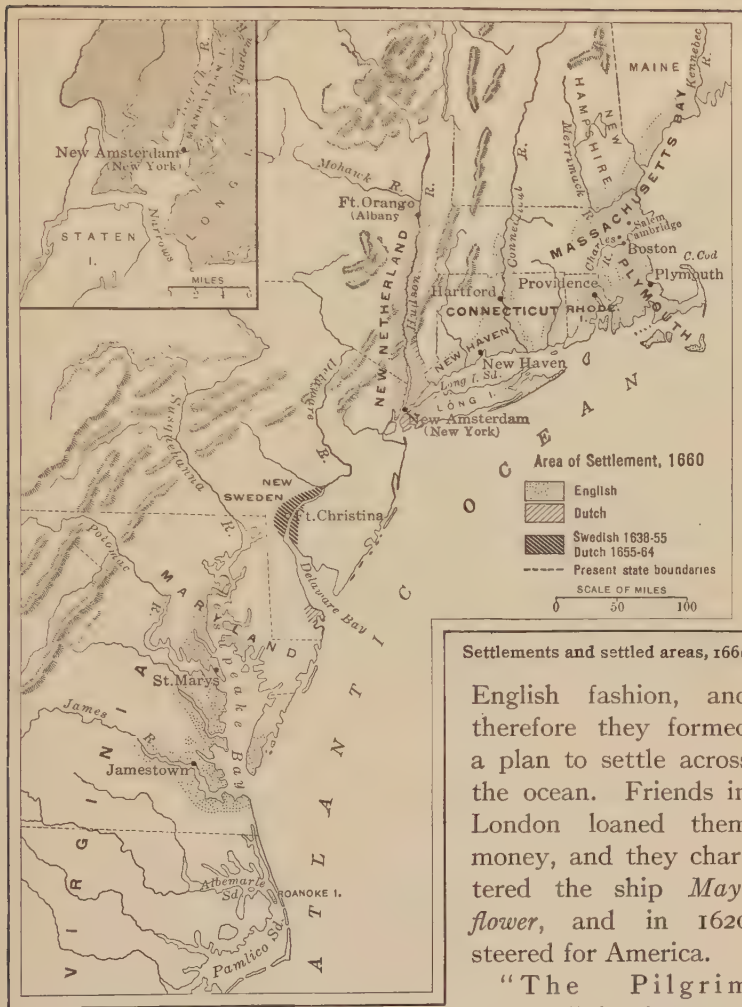
Thereafter Virginia was called a "royal colony" or "province," and had to accept a governor appointed by the king. Tobacco made it prosperous, but gradually a good part of the rich land fell into the hands of a small class of wealthy planters. In the year when the first assembly met, the Vir-



Africans were brought to Virginia by the shipload to be sold as slaves

ginians bought the first African slaves imported into the area of the present United States; and in the course of time the slave owners became the leading class in the colony.

30. Plymouth Colony (1620-1660).—Some of those extreme Puritans who were called Separatists had been trying to carry on a little church in the village of Scrooby, near the east coast of England. They were so disturbed by the authorities of the state church that they crossed over to Holland and lived for a time in the Protestant city of Leyden. Still they longed to have their children brought up in the



Settlements and settled areas, 1660

English fashion, and therefore they formed a plan to settle across the ocean. Friends in London loaned them money, and they chartered the ship *Mayflower*, and in 1620 steered for America.

"The Pilgrim Fathers" is the name

long since given to the men of this first shipload and others that followed. They meant to settle somewhere south of the Hudson River, but when they sighted land near the point of Cape Cod they decided to stay on the New England coast. As they had no charter or permission to settle there, they drew up a document, later called the "Mayflower Compact," by

which it was agreed "to combine ourselves together into a civil body politic . . . and by virtue hereof, to enact . . . such just and equal laws . . . as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good." This is the first constitution ever made by Americans. December 21, 1620, they landed near a large boulder, now famous as "Plymouth Rock"; and along the sheltered harbor they built a little town which they called Plymouth.

At the end of the winter only about half the number were left alive, but they would not give up. A few more emigrants from England joined them, and their success in trading for beaver skins and in catching fish carried them through starvation, sickness, and the danger from Indians. The most interesting man in the colony was Captain Myles Standish, whose small body was full of courage. He was the commander against hostile Indians, and a true-hearted Pilgrim Father.

Wherever the Spaniards went they obeyed laws made for them in their home country, and took orders from governors appointed from Spain. On the other hand, the Plymouth people, like their brethren in Virginia, knew how to govern themselves. For a long time all their laws were made by the grown men assembled in a mass meeting. Later the little colony was divided into sections called "towns," each of which had its own town meeting; and they all sent delegates to a little assembly very much like that in Virginia.

31. Massachusetts Colony (1629-1640). — In 1629 a body of Puritan gentlemen in England got from King Charles I a charter issued to "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." They were to possess the sea front between a line three miles north of the Merrimack River and a line three miles south of the Charles River, and thence westward to the "South Sea"; that is, to the Pacific Ocean.

One of the leaders in this company was a gentleman named John Winthrop, who in 1630 led overseas a colony of a thousand people. They built villages at Boston, Cambridge, and other places near Massachusetts Bay, and took in Salem and some other little settlements already planted. They brought with

them live stock, seeds, tools, and many hired servants, and began at once to break ground for farms. Nearly every place that they settled prospered.

John Winthrop was for some years the governor of the little community, but he and his supporters were obliged to let the people share in their own government. The "great emigration," as this movement was called, went on for ten years. A large part of the farmers became "freemen," or stockholders of the company, and met every year in what was called the "General Court."



House in Salem, built about 1662. This is the place made famous by Hawthorne in *The House of the Seven Gables*

When that meeting became clumsy, they set up an elective assembly to make laws, which from that day to this has been called the General Court of Massachusetts.

32. Growth of Massachusetts (1640-1660). — In a short time the settlers were raising their own food. Some of them became fishermen and found a market for their catch down in the West Indies, bringing back sugar, tropical fruits, and hard silver dollars that had come from Mexico. New England contained the best of timber for building ships. The colonists discovered iron ore, and began to make pig iron in little charcoal furnaces. They traded with the Indians for furs. They were even troubled with the high cost of living, and voted that nobody should make a profit of more than one third on goods brought from England.

Though most of the people of the great emigration were

members of the Church of England, they soon gave up the Prayer Book of that church and became Separatists. Then an effort was made to separate from the Separatists. Reverend Roger Williams of Salem was so outspoken that the government of the colony drove him out. In 1637 Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a friend of Roger Williams, was brought before the General Court on the charge that she was not sound in her religious doctrines. Her real offense was that she held meetings for women in which they criticized the ministers. She

showed herself quite the equal of any of her judges, especially in her knowledge of the Bible and in her ability to argue; but her enemies had the votes, and they banished her from the colony.



Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. This portrait shows the rich dress of an English Cavalier (§ 41)

33. Maryland (1632-1660).—If Puritans could find a place in America where they could live and worship God in their own way, why should not English Catholics have the same privilege? In 1632 King Charles I granted to a wealthy Catholic, Cecil Calvert (commonly called Lord Baltimore), a new

kind of colonial charter. Baltimore was made "Lord Proprietary," with the right to appoint a governor and to make laws with the consent of the settlers. The grant of land was to extend from the Potomac River northward to the 40th degree of north latitude. The next year about two hundred people, nearly all Catholics, sailed for Baltimore's territory, which he called Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, then queen of England.

The most notable thing about Maryland was its Toleration

Act, by which all believers in Christianity were allowed to worship privately or publicly in their own way. This was one of the first laws in the history of the world which admitted that a man might have a right to believe and practice one religion, when his rulers had declared another to be the right religion.

Maryland began to grow tobacco, and attracted so many settlers that the Protestants were soon more numerous than the Catholics. Most of the time during a century and a half the Baltimore family remained proprietors, appointed the governors, and helped to make the laws.

34. Connecticut and New Haven (1636-1660). — While Maryland was being settled, a group of colonies was established in New England, none of which had any charter or grant from the English government. The first of these was Connecticut, founded by Rev. Thomas Hooker. He had brought over a company of about fifty families from England to Cambridge, Massachusetts, but they were not content there, and in 1636 he led his company westward to the Connecticut River. There they founded Hartford and other villages in the neighborhood. Since they had no charter they established a little government for themselves, and in 1639 called an assembly that drew up a brief document known as "The Fundamental Orders," which was somewhat like one of our modern state constitutions.

In 1638 a group of families under Rev. John Davenport settled at New Haven, and several villages grew up near Long Island Sound, with New Haven as the center. They formed a colonial assembly, and gathered themselves together in the self-made colony of New Haven. The two settlements found the Dutch trying to establish themselves on the Connecticut.

As the Connecticut settlers were at odds with the Indians, a band of soldiers and Indian allies attacked the winter camp of the Pequot tribe and killed nearly all the men, women, and children (1637). This was the white man's way of teaching the Indians the beauty of peace!

35. Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire (1630-1660). — A third self-planted New England colony was Rhode

Island. The founder was Rev. Roger Williams (§ 32), who in 1636 brought a few people together at Providence. Williams believed strongly that no state had a right to tell anybody to worship in any particular way. Hence in his little colony he welcomed men of various beliefs, including Baptists and Quakers. Jews were admitted later.

Williams declared that he was not interested in "the children's toys of land, meadow, government, etc.," but cared

much for "a great number of weak and distressed souls flying hither from old and New England." Naturally the Puritan neighbors did not like the Rhode Islanders. Yet none of the early colonists were so successful as Williams in getting the good will of the Indians, for he



Old blockhouse in North Edgecomb, Maine. The projecting upper story and the narrow windows were for purposes of defense

was a man who kept his word with them. For a time Rhode Island was made up of four or five little independent settlements, but at last they united in one assembly, which elected a governor.

Many efforts were made to place colonies on the strip of coast called Maine (about 1630), but the land grants were tangled up and no settlement succeeded. Part of it was occupied by Plymouth, and later it was annexed to Massachusetts.

New Hampshire was settled at first in separate little towns, beginning in 1630, which slowly united into one government for common purposes; but the colony had no charter, and for a long time its people joined in the Massachusetts government.

36. The Two Sections. — The Englishmen who settled the southern colonies and those who settled the New Eng-

land colonies came from about the same class in England. Most of them were farmers, farm servants, shopkeepers, and some were ne'er-do-wells. Nevertheless the two sections had different ways of attending to their local concerns. The southern colonists settled mostly on plantations; that is, on scattered farms each with an owner's house and quarters for white servants and negro slaves. Throughout New England the people settled in villages, partly for safety, and partly so that they could all be near the village church.

The southerners had "parishes" which included all the settlers who went to one church. The people of the parish held vestry meetings for some local matters; but most of the local affairs were settled by boards called County Courts or Courts of Quarter Sessions, appointed by the governor from among the richest and most public-spirited planters. These boards laid taxes, built roads and bridges, and held the elections.

In New England the people could easily gather in a "town meeting," which was a mass meeting of all the voters (§ 30).



Captain Morgan came to this country in 1636, built a fortified blockhouse on the Connecticut River, and was a prominent fighter in the early Indian wars

Since most of the land-owning farmers were voters, the system gave them "local self-government"; that is, the opportunity to carry on their own affairs.

The only political union of colonies was the so-called New England Confederation, formed by Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven in 1643. They drew up a document called "Articles of Confederation," some of the phrases of which can be found in our present national Constitution. Their main purpose was to present a strong front against the Dutch, who were trying to keep up a trading post on the Connecticut River. After New Netherland was annexed by the English (1664), the need of the Confederation grew less and it eventually died out.

37. Summary. — This chapter deals with the planting of English colonies in two groups, one in New England and the other in the South, during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Immigration was a tedious process, for the voyages were full of hardship and the first colonists suffered from famine and disease.

English Puritans and Catholics desired to be free from the pressure of the established English Church, and men of means desired to make a profit. The two motives combined in bringing about the planting of the following colonies:

(1) Virginia was founded in 1607 by the London Company. After heavy losses, the raising of tobacco became the main industry. In 1619 the Virginians formed the first colonial assembly, or legislature, and they bought the first negro slaves imported into our country.

(2) Plymouth was founded by extreme Puritans in 1620. After barely living through the first winter, they established themselves and set up a little colonial government of their own.

(3) Massachusetts (1630), founded by a strong body of moderate Puritans, was successful from the start in ship-building, trading, and farming.

(4) Maryland was founded in 1632 by Catholics, who were

soon outnumbered by Protestants. This was the first proprietary colony and was governed by the Baltimore family. The principal industry was the raising of tobacco.

(5) Connecticut was founded without any company or proprietor or grant behind it, the first of the self-planted colonies (1636). It lived by agriculture and trading with the Indians.

(6) New Haven (1638) was a similar self-planted colony without any charter.

(7) Rhode Island (1636) was planted by Rev. Roger Williams and others who were too radical to suit the people of Massachusetts. Other little towns joined, and the people lived by farming, fishing, and trading.

(8) New Hampshire (1630) was a farming settlement without a charter.

(9) Maine (1630) was a scattered group of villages and farms without a colonial government.

The northern colonies were settled in villages called towns; the southern, in plantations or separate farms. Four of the New England colonies united in a little federal union called the New England Confederation, which is the first suggestion of anything like our present federal government.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 24) 1. What was the first group of American colonists? 2. What was the second group? 3. Why did Europeans want to colonize America?

(§ 25) 4. How did people cross the ocean? 5. Why did so many of the early colonists perish?

(§ 26) 6. Who were the Puritans? 7. Why did the Puritans wish to leave England? 8 (For an essay). Persecution of the Puritans.

(§ 27) 9. What were the trading companies? 10. Name two of the English colonization companies.

(§ 28) 11 (For an essay). Describe the colony of Virginia. 12. Why did the colony of Virginia go through hard times? 13. What did Virginia secure by the charter of 1609? 14. What did John Smith do for the colony of Virginia? 15 (For an essay). Describe the life of Indians in Virginia. 16. How did tobacco come into use?

(§ 29) 17. What was the first American legislature? 18. How did Virginia become a royal colony? 19. How did the first negro slaves come into the English colonies?

(§ 30) 20. Why did English Puritans settle in Holland? 21. How did the Pilgrim Fathers come to Plymouth? 22. What was the Mayflower Compact? 23 (For an essay). Life and adventures of Captain Myles Standish. 24. How did towns spring up in Plymouth?

(§ 31) 25. What was the Massachusetts Bay Company? 26. How was the Massachusetts Colony planted? 27. How was Massachusetts governed?

(§ 32) 28. How did the people of Massachusetts make a living? 29. Why were Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson banished?

(§ 33) 30. How was Maryland settled? 31. What was the Toleration Act?

(§ 34) 32. How was Connecticut settled? 33. How was New Haven settled? 34 (For an essay). Events of the Pequot War.

(§ 35) 35. How was Rhode Island settled? 36 (For an essay). An account of Roger Williams. 37. How was Maine settled? 38. How was New Hampshire settled?

(§ 36) 39. What was the difference between the New England and the southern methods of settlement? 40. What was the town meeting? 41. What was the New England Confederation?

CHAPTER IV

RIVALS AND NEW COLONIES (1604-1689)

38. French Settlements in America (1604-1660). — While the English colonies were growing up, three other European nations — France, Holland, and Sweden — planted settlements near by. The French strongly desired the profitable fur trade of the St. Lawrence, and also wished to Christianize the heathen Indians. Their missionaries went out among the wild tribes and endured hardship, poverty, and death; some of them were made martyrs by the Indians whom they came to save. The French were also interested in the fisheries on the shallows or "banks" southeast of Newfoundland; but their first permanent settlement was Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy (1604). They named the adjacent country Acadia.

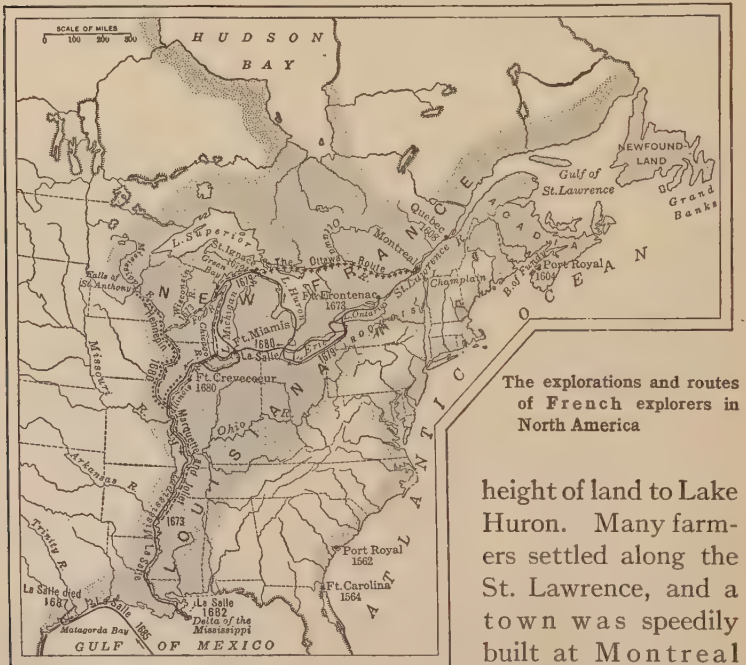


Location of the "Five Nations" of Iroquois, enlarged by the adoption of the Tuscaroras in 1715 to the "Six Nations." They counted about 2500 warriors

A more vigorous colony was planted by Samuel de Champlain at Quebec in 1608, and there has been a town of Quebec ever since, on that spot. Champlain was a captain in the French navy, and one of the boldest of explorers. He sought the friendship of the Indians who controlled the routes from the Great Lakes. When a party of their warriors asked him to help them against the fierce and hostile Iroquois, commonly

called the "Five Nations," living to the southward, he and two other Frenchmen agreed to go along with them. They paddled nearly the whole length of a sheet of water since known as Lake Champlain, till they met a party of four hundred of the Iroquois. With their harquebuses (a sort of awkward gun), the Frenchmen drove the enemy off in great confusion.

This victory drew upon the French the rage of the Iroquois, who for nearly a hundred years raided the French settlements, killing and burning. They made it unsafe to travel upon Lake Ontario or Lake Erie, and therefore Champlain and his successors followed up the Ottawa River and crossed over the



height of land to Lake Huron. Many farmers settled along the St. Lawrence, and a town was speedily built at Montreal which became the

center of the colony of New France. Thence missionaries and fur traders set out for the interior, and planted missions and trading posts on the Great Lakes as far west as Lake Michigan and Lake Superior.

39. Exploration of the Mississippi by the French (1660-1684). — From the Indians the French heard tales of a great river to the westward which they thought might be the Colorado. An adventurous young man named La Salle conceived the idea of finding that river. He ventured upon Lake Erie, which till then had hardly been visited by white men, and explored the country south of the lake. While he went back to the St. Lawrence to get together men and means to reach the great river, a missionary, Father Marquette, and a trader named Joliet together went up the Fox River, crossed to the Wisconsin River, and so down to the Mississippi River, which they followed for a long distance (1673) in the hope of reaching the sea.

La Salle was backed by the king of France, who gave him authority to discover and explore new lands for the king. With him went a missionary, Father Hennepin, who followed the river up to the Falls of St. Anthony, now the site of Minneapolis. After many hardships and delays, La Salle and his company went from Lake Michigan up the Chicago River, crossed a short portage, and paddled their canoes down the Illinois River to its mouth, and then on down the Mississippi until they reached the salt water of the delta (1682). Thus the region that we now call the West was opened to Europeans.

La Salle reported that along the banks lay "the most beautiful country in the world," and he talks of "cotton, cochineal, nuts, entire forests of mulberry trees, salt, slate, coal, vines, apple trees." According to the usual practice of claiming territory in America, the king of France considered himself entitled by La Salle's discoveries to the immense area drained by all the streams that flow into the Mississippi River and its branches.

La Salle named the region Louisiana for his royal master, who was so pleased that he fitted out a fleet with which the explorer expected to reach the mouth of the Mississippi River by sea (1684). La Salle missed the stream, landed at Matagorda Bay in what is now Texas, and after months of misery for the whole party, was killed by one of his own men. No

Frenchman planted permanent colonies anywhere in Louisiana till fifteen years later; but the French, who were the first to explore the Mississippi, laid claim to the whole of its magnificent basin

40. The Dutch and the Swedes in America (1609-1660). — The early French and English colonies were far apart and separated by wide stretches of woods and mountains. A third group of European colonists took up land between the two groups of English colonies — the southern and the New England. These were the Dutch, whose home country of "the Netherlands" was usually called Holland by the English. These prosperous, seafaring people had been ruled by the king of Spain, but they revolted and set up a federal government of their own in 1579; and they continued to fight the Spaniards at intervals for nearly seventy years. They were rich traders and manufacturers, and were so strong at sea that they attacked and captured a good part of the Portuguese possessions in southern Asia. That is how modern Holland comes to own Java, Sumatra, and other Asiatic islands.



Replica of Henry Hudson's *Half Moon*. This ship was sent to the United States by Holland in 1909

At the same time they turned their attention westward and in 1609 sent out Henry Hudson, an Englishman, to search

for a new water route to India. In his ship, the *Half Moon*, he came into the bay now called New York harbor, and sailed up the stream afterwards called Hudson River for its discoverer. Five years later (1614) a little post was founded on the rocky island of Manhattan, and was called New Amsterdam (map, page 49). This was the beginning of the city of New York. In 1621 the Dutch chartered a West India Company, which began to plant trading posts on the Connect-



A school for children of the burgher class in New Amsterdam

icut, Hudson, and Delaware rivers; and they called the whole region "New Netherland." New Amsterdam was well placed, for the Hudson led up into the country of the Iroquois, whose friendship the traders cultivated. The Dutch built a post at Fort Orange (now Albany), and others in the Mohawk Valley. Along with the traders came Dutch farmers, and the West India Company granted tracts of land to large owners called "patroons," who leased farms to immigrants.

The Dutch were not so fortunate on the Connecticut, where English settlers came and crowded them out (§ 34). On the Delaware River also their claim was disputed by Sweden, which in 1638 sent out a colony and built a little post called Fort Christina (now Wilmington, Delaware). The Swedes

tried to send over enough settlers to hold the country, but were unable to resist the Dutch. After the Dutch annexed the little settlement (1655), there was an end of the Swedish colony of New Sweden.

The Dutchmen were good traders but poor colonizers. Some of the inhabitants complained that the public school in New Amsterdam was irregular and ill taught; that there was no orphan asylum; that the governor, Stuyvesant, famous for his wooden leg, "was like a peacock, with great state and pomp." When one of the burghers threatened to complain to the Dutch government in Holland, Stuyvesant said, "I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way."

41. The English Revolution and Commonwealth (1640-1663). — Why did England allow the Dutch and the Swedes to plant colonies that pressed against Connecticut on the one side and Maryland on the other? Simply because of troubles at home which took all the energies of England. The English Parliament, or national legislature, included the elected House of Commons, in which the Puritans became strong. King James I (§ 26) and his son, Charles I, tried to govern England without the aid of Parliament. In 1642 the Royalist defenders of the king (who were often called "Cavaliers") and the Puritans (who were called "Roundheads") began to fight each other in a civil war. The Royalists had the best of it for a time, but a Puritan officer named Oliver Cromwell organized a Roundhead cavalry known as the "Ironsides" and defeated the Royalists. King Charles was imprisoned, tried, and executed.

Then a Commonwealth (which is what we call a republic) was set up, with Cromwell at the head. A little later he became "Lord Protector," and almost king. Cromwell was a great ruler. One of his exploits was to send out a fleet which captured the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards; this was the first loss of a Spanish colony. A few English Cavaliers found their way to Virginia and Maryland during the struggle.

Soon after Cromwell died, the Commonwealth collapsed, and Charles II, the son of the late king, was called to the

throne. This arrangement, commonly called the "Restoration," was accepted by all the colonies in America, and they took orders from the new government on the same terms as before the English civil war. The people of Connecticut made friends with the new king, and in 1662 received from him a charter for a new colony of Connecticut, which included both the Connecticut and the New Haven colonies. The next year Rhode Island also received a charter which was so liberal that the little colony became almost a republic.

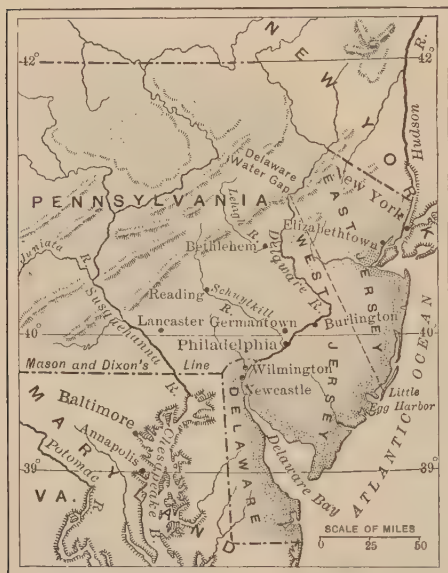
42. Conquest of New York (1664). — During the Commonwealth, Holland and England fell to quarreling. The English



One of the earliest views of New Amsterdam. From a sketch made by a Dutch officer in 1635

had established an East India Company which competed with the Dutch for the Asiatic trade. The Dutch merchant ships in Europe also carried goods which the English would have liked to handle. The result was a contest of two kinds: (1) The rival countries fought three fierce naval wars (1652–1674). (2) The English passed a series of laws called the Navigation Acts, or Acts of Trade (beginning in 1651), which were intended to prevent any but English ships from trading with the English colonies.

The English also disliked the feeble but troublesome Dutch colonies on the Hudson and Delaware rivers; and in 1664 they sent out a fleet which appeared before the town of New Amsterdam and demanded its surrender, on the ground that this was English soil and the Dutch had no right to be there. There was nothing to do but to surrender, and with the town



New Jersey, Delaware, and eastern Pennsylvania

went all the rest of the Dutch settlements. Thus the English came at last to possess the whole stretch of coast from Maine to Virginia.

43. New York and New Jersey (1664–1702). — The next step was to organize this splendid country. King Charles II had granted to his brother James, Duke of York, a charter making him the proprietor of all the territory between the Connecticut River and the Dela-

ware. James set off the tract between the Delaware River and the Hudson and gave it (1664) to two of his friends, Berkeley and Carteret, who founded the two colonies of West New Jersey and East New Jersey. James did not attempt to take away the territory of the colony of Connecticut, but set up a new colony, New York, which included the valley of the Hudson and Long Island; and the little town of New Amsterdam was renamed New York. In 1686 Dongan, who was then governor of the colony, granted a city charter to the town, which had long had a mayor, and it thus became the first regularly organized American city.

Most of the Dutch and Swedes in all this territory stayed under the English system, and new settlers came out from England. The Jerseys received a mixed population: Scotch Presbyterians, Quakers, Church of England people, and Puritans from New England. The two settlements were finally united (1702) into the one colony of New Jersey.

When King Charles II died, the Duke of York became King James II (1685). New York was then transformed, like Virginia (§ 29), into a "province" or royal colony with a governor appointed from England; like Virginia it had a colonial assembly, which made local laws.

44. Pennsylvania and Delaware (1681-1689). — The rich and beautiful country west of the Delaware River was not granted to the Duke of York and therefore remained within the power of King Charles II. In 1681 Charles granted it to his personal friend, William Penn, son of a wealthy admiral and at the same time a member of the religious sect of Quakers. The new province was to extend three degrees (about 200 miles) along the Delaware River and thence about 300 miles westward. It was called Pennsylvania, which means "Penn's woodland."

Penn was a man of wealth and planted his colony on a larger scale than any of the earlier settlements. Never up to this time had such a stream of people crossed the Atlantic as now came to the new colony. Penn welcomed Englishmen, Welshmen, and Presbyterian Scotch-Irishmen, who always liked the adventure and variety of frontier life. He had a place for Quakers, for Jews, for Baptists, and other then unpopular sects. He advertised his lands in Germany and brought over the first group of German colonists that ever came to America.

Penn at once laid out along the Delaware a city with broad streets, crossing at right angles, which he named Philadelphia for an ancient city of Asia Minor, the name meaning "brotherly love." The proprietor and other colonists built handsome houses, market places, and wharves, and the town soon became one of the most important places in North America. Settlers began at once to push back west from

the river and founded Germantown and other places. Penn, from the first, got along well with the Indians, because he always kept his promises to them. The "Great Treaty" which he made with them lasted for many years.



William Penn. From a portrait in carved ivory

The Penn family were proprietors of the colony, just as the Baltimores were in Maryland (§ 33), and Penn had the right to decide how the people should be governed. He freely allowed the settlers to draw up a kind of constitution for themselves called the "Great Charter." From this period to the Revolution the people had the habit of quarreling with the governors, who were from

time to time appointed by the proprietor and who could veto the bills passed by the assembly.

On Delaware Bay south of Philadelphia, the Penns had a separate grant of a tract which was long a part of Pennsylvania, but which was finally set off as the separate colony of Delaware.

45. The Carolinas (1663-1689).— Before seizing New York the English had begun to extend their southern colonies into a region where there were no settlers of other nations, but where Spain still claimed to own the territory (§ 18). In 1663 the king granted a tract, which had once been the southern part of Virginia, to eight proprietors, and gave them the right to start a colony called Carolina. They tried to set up a system of land-holding lords called "landgraves" and "caciques," under a kind of constitution which they called the "Grand Model." The people did not like **this** form of government and it never worked; instead, the settlers demanded and received popular assemblies like those of the other colonies.

Carolina occupied a broad and valuable tract running back from the seacoast, nominally to the "South Sea," but actually only to the mountains. The early settlements were nearly all made on the seacoast, especially at several points on Albemarle Sound and at Charleston, which was situated on a splendid harbor. The settlers raised tobacco, and down near the seacoast they planted rice. From the great pine forests they made pitch, tar, and turpentine, commonly called "naval stores" because they were used with other materials for the building of the ships of the time. Later the colony was subdivided into North Carolina and South Carolina, each of which had about the same boundaries as the present states which bear those names.



Carolina, as enlarged by the king in 1665

The people of Virginia, having lost their charter years before (§ 29), could not prevent the planting of Carolina within what once had been their territory. Virginia was harassed by Indian wars and in 1676 a short rebellion broke out. Some of the planters under Nathaniel Bacon rose against the tyrannical governor and burned the public buildings at the little capital of Jamestown. When their leader died, "Bacon's Rebellion" came to an end.

46. Troubles in New England (1660-1691). — All the colonies were exposed to Indian wars, and Virginia twice came near being swept out of existence. New England's turn came in 1675 when King Philip, the sagamore or chief of the Pokanoket tribe, attacked the Massachusetts towns. Twelve

settlements were destroyed by the Indians before King Philip was pursued into a swamp and shot.

In 1685 the new king, James II, formed a plan of binding all the New England colonies into one, and sent over Sir Edmund Andros to bring it about. The charter of Massachusetts had already been taken away (1684), and Sir Edmund Andros forced the people of Connecticut and Rhode Island into giving up theirs. Before his plan could be carried out, the people in England rose against their king, as they had done in 1642. When the news arrived (1689) that James II had been driven from his throne, Andros was imprisoned in Boston and then sent home in disgrace. The result was that Rhode Island and Connecticut got back their charters; Massachusetts was allowed to take in Plymouth and Maine under a new charter (1691); and New Hampshire was reorganized as a separate colony.

47. Persecution of the Quakers (1660-1689). — The sect or church of the Quakers has been mentioned in connection with Pennsylvania, where they were numerous and highly respected. In England, however, and in some of the other colonies they were looked upon with dislike and even horror. Their offense was that George Fox, who founded the sect in Cromwell's time, and all the Quakers who followed him, thought that the usual forms and ceremonies of church services interfered with the true worship of God. Hence the Quakers had no ministers and used no preaching or formal prayers, but held that any man or woman might speak in their meetings "as the spirit moves you." This was disliked by the Puritans, who also objected to women being allowed to speak in a public religious gathering.

In private life the Quakers were the best of people, with customs of their own. They used no oaths and would not take oaths even as witnesses before a court. They used very plain speech, calling each other "Friend" instead of "Mr." or "Mrs.," and saying "thee is" and "thee does" instead of "you are" and "you do." They wore simple clothes and would not adopt new fashions. At first most of the Quakers were poor, but they were a thrifty and God-fearing folk, and many rich and powerful men joined them. They were wel-

comed in Rhode Island, and many settled in Maryland, but they were especially prosperous in Pennsylvania.

As a Quaker always made it a point to tell the people of other churches that they were proud and formal in their worship, the sect brought down upon themselves the wrath of several colonies. About 1660 four Quakers were put to death in Boston, because they would speak in public contrary to the Puritan laws, and sometimes interrupted religious services. One of them was a woman, Mary Dyer.

This was nothing but the persecution of a harmless sect because they disagreed with the religion of the state. To be sure, it was at that time the practice of all European nations to imprison, whip, or burn men and women who ventured to set up a new form of worship contrary to the established forms of the official state churches. But such intolerance is hardly excusable in the Massachusetts Puritans, who claimed for themselves the liberty to try to establish a higher form of Christianity. Moreover, they might have seen that no harm came to the colonies of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland because Catholics, Quakers, and Baptists were allowed to hold their own services.

48. Progress Toward the West (1607-1689). — In 1689, after eighty-two years of colonization, the English were firmly settled in North America. Their total population was about 200,000, more than half of whom lived in the two largest colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts.

As yet few of the settlers were farther than ten or twenty miles from tidewater, and little was known of the mountain region to the west. In fact, only the three following explorations seem to have attracted attention: (1) Edward Bland in 1650 crossed the mountains west of the headwaters of the Appomattox, but he did not go beyond the Shenandoah River. (2) A little later an Englishman named Batts and a German Swiss named Lederer forced their way through the mountain forests until they reached the headwaters of the New River, which flows into a branch of the Ohio. (3) In 1673 Colonel Abraham Wood sent some traders to the far Southwest among the Cherokees.

The Spanish neighbors in Florida, who still claimed the coast as far north as the Savannah River, were not more enterprising; but the French had sent traders and missionaries through the Great Lakes and to the Mississippi (§ 39). One reason why the English were so shut in was that the Iroquois Indians would allow neither French nor English to pass through their territory.

49. Summary. — This chapter is devoted to the French, Dutch, and Swedish colonies from their beginnings to 1689, including the discovery of the West. It includes also the English colonies founded after 1660.

During the first half century of English colonization, the French were settling alongside the English in Acadia (now Nova Scotia) and Canada. They early came into contact with the warlike Iroquois, who compelled them to pass around them northward in order to reach the Great Lakes. From the Lakes the French pushed into the far West. Four different explorers, Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin, and La Salle, reached the Mississippi River. La Salle followed it to its mouth and named the country Louisiana. His discoveries were the beginning of our present middle-western states.

The Dutch planted a colony on the Hudson River, with other settlements on the Connecticut and Delaware. Their principal profit came from the fur trade with the Indians, especially the Iroquois. The Swedes also planted a colony on the Delaware (1638), which was absorbed by the Dutch (1655).

English immigration was stopped about 1640 by the breaking out of civil war in England, which resulted in the execution of the king and the setting up of a sort of republican government called the Commonwealth, with Cromwell at its head. After Cromwell's death, Charles II became king. The Dutch colony of New Netherland was taken by an English fleet (1664) and renamed New York. New Amsterdam became New York, the first organized city in English North America. In addition to New York the following English colonies were founded after 1660:

(1) New Jersey (1664), for a time subdivided into two small colonies, and inhabited by Quakers, New Englanders, and others.

(2) Pennsylvania (1681), the most successful of all the colonies, granted by Charles II to William Penn, the celebrated Quaker.

(3) Delaware, a little colony, for a long time treated as part of Pennsylvania.

(4) Carolina (1663), a planting region, producing also naval stores. This colony was later divided into North Carolina and South Carolina.

New England suffered from Indian wars, and was disturbed by a persecution of the Quakers. Meantime, explorers were pushing out to the western mountains and a few of them reached streams flowing into the Ohio.



Philadelphia, about 1718, showing the growth of the city in thirty-six years

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QUESTIONS

(§ 38) 1. What led the French to colonize in the New World? 2 (For an essay). Champlain's travels and adventures. 3 (For an essay). The Iroquois. 4. How was New France settled?

(§ 39) 5 (For an essay). Adventures of La Salle. 6. What Europeans discovered the Mississippi River? 7. How was Louisiana founded? 8. Early canoe voyages on the Mississippi River.

(§ 40) 9. How did the country of Holland arise? 10. Why did the Dutch settle on the Hudson River? 11 (For an essay). Early accounts and pictures of New Amsterdam. 12. How was New Sweden founded? 13. What sort of government did the Dutch have in New Netherland?

(§ 41) 14. Who were the Royalists and the Roundheads? 15. How was a republic set up in England? 16 (For an essay). An account of Oliver Cromwell. 17. How did the Restoration affect the American colonies?

(§ 42) 18. How did New Amsterdam become New York? 19. Why did the Dutch and English quarrel?

(§ 43) 20. How were the New Jersey colonies founded? 21. How did New York become a city? 22. What kind of people came to New York and New Jersey?

(§ 44) 23 (For an essay). Life and experiences of William Penn. 24. How was Pennsylvania founded? 25. How was Philadelphia founded? 26. What was the "Great Charter"? 27. How was Delaware founded?

(§ 45) 28. How were the Carolinas founded? 29. What was the "Grand Model"? 30. How did the Carolina people make a living? 31 (For an essay). Bacon's Rebellion.

(§ 46) 32 (For an essay). Incidents of King Philip's War. 33. Why was Andros so unpopular?

(§ 47) 34. Who were the Quakers? 35. Why were they so much disliked? 36. Why were the New Englanders so intolerant of Quakers? 37 (For an essay). Witchcraft trials.

(§ 48) 38. What English expeditions crossed the mountains westward? 39. What neighbors had the English on the north and the south?

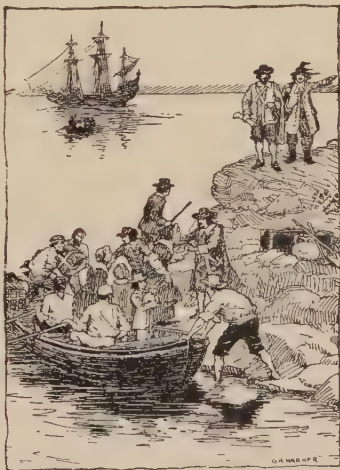
CHAPTER V

COLONIAL LIFE (1689-1750)

50. The Settlers.—As we have seen in the previous chapters, it was almost two centuries after the discovery by Columbus before the eastern coast of North America was taken up by English colonies. During the process the English settlers went through many hard fights with the Spaniards, with the French, with the Dutch, with wild beasts, and with wild men and pirates, before they felt safe.

After 1689 these colonies grew so fast that in 1750 they contained about 1,200,000 inhabitants. Land was plentiful and cheap; and there were work and food for all the members of the large families. Few immigrants from Europe came to New England after 1640 (§ 41), but thousands flocked into the other colonies.

The largest element among these newcomers was always the English, including the Scotch and the Welsh. A few French Protestants, commonly called Huguenots, and some Catholic Scotch Highlanders sought the southern colonies. Great numbers of Scotch-Irish went to Pennsylvania, and soon made up a fourth of the population. By natural preference they sought the frontiers; some drifted later along the valleys southward into the mountains of Virginia and the Carolinas, where many of their descendants still live.



The landing of Huguenots at New Rochelle, N. Y.

The only considerable number of immigrants who did not speak English when they arrived were the Germans. Many German-speaking Protestants, whose worship was restricted at home, took refuge in Pennsylvania, and a few in New York. Among them were Mennonites from central Germany, and Moravians from Austria. Many Germans went to the Virginia mountains.

Besides these willing immigrants, the colonies received thousands of negro slaves from the West Indies or direct from Africa. All the colonies shared in this system of forced labor, but the negroes were so well suited for the work in the southern tobacco fields that about nine tenths of them were taken to the South.

51. The Indians.— The different colonizing races followed different methods in dealing with the Indians. The Spaniards were cruel to them but often married Indian women; and they planted missions among the wild tribes, with splendid stone churches and convents, around which the Indians lived almost like slaves. The French knew how to attach the Indians to themselves. Many young Frenchmen, the so-called “coureurs de bois,” (“wood-rangers”) put on paint and feathers and lived among them; many others married squaws and raised families of “half-breeds,” as the children were called.

The English never made the Indians their fellow citizens or intimate friends, but kind-hearted colonists tried to Christianize them by planting missions among them. On the other hand the English always admitted that the Indians preserved a “right of occupancy” in their lands. Whether they lived within the grants to a chartered company, or in proprietors’ colonies, or in “royal provinces,” the Indians could not be deprived of their hunting grounds except by their own consent, usually set forth in a solemn written treaty.

A few Indians accepted the white man’s religion; but most of them were wild tribes, living beyond the frontier, and no better off because of the coming of their white neighbors. Indeed, the settlers brought to the Indians such dread diseases as smallpox, which swept off thousands. The Indians taught their white neighbors several useful things, such as how to

make small shells into wampum, which was used by the Indians as a kind of money; how to grow Indian corn; how to boil down maple sugar; how to combine corn and beans into a dish called succotash; how to build canoes out of solid trees or birch bark; how to find their way in the woods.

From the whites the Indians bought such goods as iron kettles, hatchets, beads, and ornaments; "matchcoats" (that is, blankets); guns, powder, and shot, sometimes used to kill the men who sold them. They prized especially the "fire water," as they called the alcoholic liquid which would burn if poured on a fire, and which changed the Indian who drank it into a fool or a demon.

52. Indian Warfare. — Another thing that the white man learned was to be forever on the watch for the savages. The Indians looked upon every man, woman, and child who belonged to a hostile tribe as a personal enemy; therefore, if an Indian were injured by a white colonist, his friends felt themselves entitled to kill at sight any inhabitant of that colony. Their warfare was fierce and terrible. Indians would not spend days in besieging a fort; their method was to burst into a house or village, shooting right and left, and taking as captives the people still living. Then they would hurry home again with their party, tomahawking on the way the unhappy captives who could not keep up. They scalped dead enemies and sometimes live ones, and saved some of the prisoners for awful scenes of torture.

The colonists, whether English, Spanish, French, or Dutch, had little right to complain of such barbarity, for they often surprised Indian villages and killed Indian women and children in cold blood, and sometimes offered rewards for the scalps of Indians. It was an age of blood and cruelty.

53. Home Life. — Since most of the colonists lived on separate farms or in small villages, the larger part of the lives of young people was spent on their own places. It was easy to make a home, for the early settlements were in the woods, and two or three men working for a week could build a log house. When the cracks between the logs were properly filled with moss and clay, such a house would be comfortable

for years. Some of the colonists were carpenters who built good frame houses, a few of which are still standing. Some of the Dutch and German farmhouses in the middle colonies were built of brick. In the mild climate of the South most of the early houses were simple log or frame structures, except that a few well-to-do families built handsome mansions; for example, the Byrd house near Richmond, Virginia.



Dress of Nabby Bishop of Medford.
Worn by a descendant

Inside ordinary houses the principal feature was the great chimney, with a fireplace, sometimes made large enough to take six-foot logs. There the cooking for the family was done, and at night there was often no other light than that of the burning logs. The big room upon which the fireplace opened was kitchen and living room and best parlor and bedroom all in one, and contained the simplest furniture. The colonists made "punch-eons" by splitting trunks of trees in two; and they made seats and tables by setting these punch-eons flat side up and fitting them with legs. An iron pot was the principal cooking utensil. Well-to-do people brought beautiful pieces of furniture from England or had them made in the neighborhood. A few

rich merchants, like William Walton of New York and Robert Morris of Philadelphia, owned mansions stocked with beautiful china, silverware, pictures, and Turkey carpets.

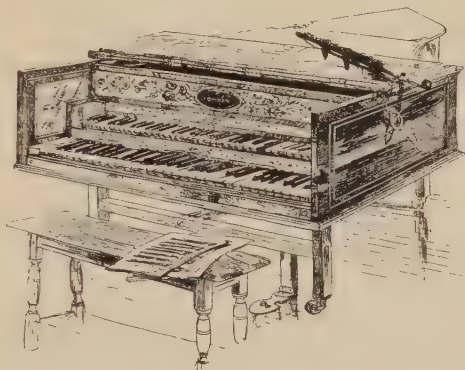
Rich and poor alike were very subject to illness. Little children died off in great numbers, and their elders also suffered from many diseases, especially from the dangerous "jail fever," or "ship fever," which we call typhus; from rheumatism and consumption; from malaria in many forms, including the dreaded "breakbone fever." Doctors were few and

gave strong and nauseous drugs, including pounded toads and liquid mercury. Smallpox was one of the worst scourges, and its ravages were not much lessened by the treatment called "inoculation," which consisted in deliberately taking smallpox in such a way as to make it a light case.

54. Social Life. — In colonial times, as now, people liked to get together and have a good time; but there were practically no theaters, no excursions, and little music except that in the churches and the unskilled scraping of a few fiddlers.

In New England the principal recreation was going to church, for that was the one place where all the people, men, women, and children, came together and had a little opportunity to gossip after the sermon. The Puritans frowned on cards and dancing;

nevertheless their children had plenty of fun and jollity. Young people romped and dressed in queer costumes, and slipped out of bed to eat pie and oysters at midnight. Southerners would ride many miles on horseback or in coaches to visit friends and dine and play games and dance. Lucinda Lee, a lively Virginia maid, relates how she made one of her friends "play on the forti-pianer," by which she meant the piano. In the middle colonies the Quakers and many of the Dutch and German sects were strict, but other people enjoyed parties and suppers, and plenty of amusements. Cooper, the novelist, describes a feast where each guest had at his elbow a whole circle of pie made up of six pieces cut from as many different kinds of pie.



Harpsichord (early form of the piano) and Washington's flute, now in Mt. Vernon

Everywhere young people got together on the farms, for quilting bees or corn-husking parties, or weddings. Funerals were held in state, throngs of friends sometimes walking miles to the graveyard, or "burying ground," as it was called. Horse racing was a favorite amusement in the South, and there was hard drinking and gambling in every colony. Lotteries were a favorite kind of gambling, and they were allowed

for all sorts of purposes, including the raising of funds for a college building or a parsonage.



(c) *Detroit Pub. Co.*

Old North Church, Boston, built in 1723. Paul Revere's alarm lights were hung in the tower of this church on the night of his famous ride. The high square-back pews and the slaves' gallery, above the organ at the right, are interesting features of this church

55. Colonial Churches.—The church services were the only schools for thousands of poor and ignorant families. The Church of England, now commonly called the Episcopal Church, spread even to New England. It was "established" in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and part of New York; that is, the churches were built and maintained and the ministers were paid out of general taxation. The Episcopalians were fond of

building churches, and a good example of their art is the church at Goose Creek, South Carolina — one of their oldest buildings — which is still in use.

The Independent, or (as it came to call itself) the Congregational Church, was strong in New England and also in eastern Long Island, in New Jersey, and in parts of North Carolina.

Each congregation chose its own minister and looked after itself. In New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts the Congregational Church was established and everybody had to pay taxes for its support.

The leading church in the middle colonies was the Presbyterian, in which assemblies of ministers and laymen decided on the church doctrines and policy. The Dutch Reformed Church of New York was much like it.

The Baptist Church appeared first in Rhode Island, then in the middle colonies, and later in the South, especially on the frontier. The Baptists, like the Congregationalists, left each local church free to make its own decisions and to appoint its own minister.

The Methodist Church, commonly called the Wesleyan Church in England, was founded about 1740 by John and Charles Wesley, clergymen of the Church of England. They were distressed by what they considered the deadness of that church, and started a movement of reform. Since it was not accepted by the church, they set up a new organization. Both the brothers visited America, and John Wesley stayed for some time in Georgia (§ 65). Their church, like that of the Baptists, was especially fitted for work on the frontier, and these two religious bodies had a great influence in the West.

The Quakers, like the Congregationalists, had no central authority, but formed state "meetings," in which they exchanged views. They were strong in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

The Germans founded several Protestant churches, among them the Lutheran, the Dunkard, and the Mennonite, a German sect much resembling the Quakers in prim dress and horror of outward show. The German Moravians built great community houses in Bethlehem and Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere.

The Catholic Church in this period included the descendants of the Maryland Catholics, and a few Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Irishmen in other colonies.

56. Colonial Ministers. — Most of the colonists enjoyed church services, discussions about religious doctrines, and

long sermons. A young minister, who forgot to turn the hourglass before he began, once preached two hours, and the congregation seemed to "like it well." The New England ministers were leaders in the life of their colonies.

One of the greatest among them was Cotton Mather of Boston, who is a fair example of the Puritans at their best. When he entered college at twelve years of age he had read



A two-hour pulpit glass.
From the Salem Museum

Caesar, Ovid, Vergil, and many other authors; he could speak Latin, had read much Greek, and had begun Hebrew. When nineteen years old, he preached his first sermon. He soon after became the minister of one of the principal Boston churches, and remained there throughout his life. He was married three times and had fifteen children, of whom only two outlived him.

Besides preaching thousands of sermons, Mather read in his library of three thousand volumes, and wrote many books, including the *Magnalia*. This is a kind of history, but is full of poems, stories, and all sorts of material. Mather was also one of the few scientific men of his time, and was the friend and correspondent of many learned men in England and in Germany. He was a man of public spirit, and interested in schools. Therefore he wrote to Elihu Yale, a wealthy merchant in London, suggesting that he give money to a little college that had been started in Connecticut. Yale did so, and the college was named for him.

In the middle colonies, especially along the frontier, many uneducated men became ministers. In the South there was difficulty in getting good ministers, though an English society, usually called the "Venerable Society," sent over ministers and libraries, and tried to raise the standard. As lawyers at this time were few and much disliked, and as the doctors had little education, the ministers were in many places the only trained men.



Guests arriving at a Southern mansion in Colonial days

57. Witchcraft. — During the period of colonization the world was full of a belief in unseen evil spirits. Many of the immigrants thought the Indians were devils, and the belief was widespread that ghosts sometimes appeared and talked with living persons. People held the harmful belief that human beings who so desired could become acquainted with evil spirits, and with their aid could harm other persons, whom perhaps they had never seen. Such beings were called witches.

Throughout Christian Europe at this time men and women were arrested on the charge of witchcraft; and hundreds of thousands of supposed witches, most of them women, were fearfully tortured and executed by burning, in order to make them confess to crimes that nobody could possibly commit. Some of the few brave men who had the courage to teach that there could be no such things as witches were themselves executed as witches. This awful delusion prevailed in England and extended to the English colonies, so that a supposed witch was once executed in Maryland.

In 1692 the insane belief in witchcraft took strong hold of Massachusetts. Some children in Salem invented a set of stories that an Indian slave and other women were witches; and witnesses would fall down in the court, shrieking and declaring that prisoners there present were pricking them with pins. The so-called witches were accused of making compacts with the devil, who in turn gave them power to injure others. In vain did they cry, "I am innocent"; nineteen were hanged at Salem. This fate was merciful in comparison with the tortures usual in such cases in Europe.

After a few months the people of Massachusetts slowly came to their senses and were almost the first people in Christendom to acknowledge that there could be no such thing as witches. Gradually the same ideas crept into the minds of Europeans; and belief in witchcraft is nowadays left to savages and barbarous people.

58. Colonial Children. — Many immigrants in America hoped to improve the chances of their children. In the time of Raleigh's unsuccessful colony (§ 21) the settlers noted the birth of a little girl, and because this child was the first Chris-

tian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia Dare. In the ship *Mayflower* were little children, one of whom was named Peregrine (that is, Pilgrim) White. One of the colonial founders thought that "children of twelve or fourteen years of age, or under, may be kept from idleness in making a thousand kinds of trifling things which will be good merchandise for that country."

The Dutch in New Amsterdam brought over children from the poorhouses of Holland and "bound them out"; that is, assigned them to families that agreed to take care of them for a term of years and meanwhile had the benefit of their work. The Puritans were commonly thought to be severe with their children, but many of them showed great love and tenderness. Cotton Mather said that he tried "to form in his children a temper of benignity." He would set them to doing services and kindnesses for one another and for other children, and he would let them see that he was not satisfied "excepting they had a sweetness of temper shining in them."

Children could be naughty in those days; and the grown-ups did not always show much wisdom in correcting them. The great preacher Whitefield tells us that on board ship he found a little boy under five years of age who would not say his prayers; so he plumped the child down on his knees, gave him several whacks, and then the little boy said his prayers nicely. Whereupon the minister gave the lad some figs for a reward.

Most children had a happy outdoor life, wore simple clothing, and were accustomed to pay deep respect to their fathers and mothers. Well-bred little girls curtsied to older people. Sometimes the children had to join in defending their homes



Dress of a colonial boy, about 1750.
Children were dressed much like
their elders

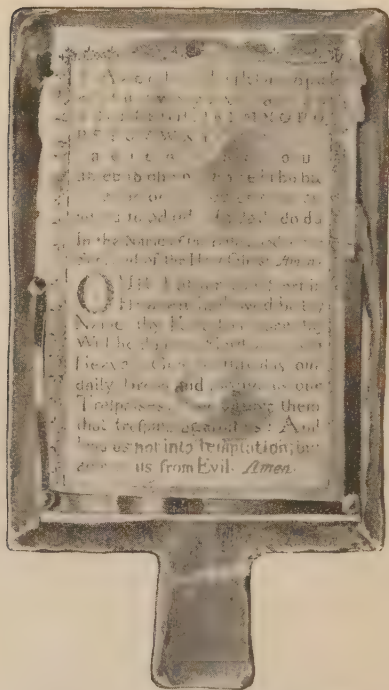
from Indians and other enemies. John Fontaine, a Virginian, tells us how with four servants and five of his young sons he for hours fought off the crew of a French privateer.

Well-to-do families fitted out their children in handsome style. Thus John Livingston of New York, when he was sent

on a journey, was furnished with "eleven new shirts, four pairs of lace sleeves, eight plain cravats, four cravats with lace, four striped waistcoats with black buttons, two hats, six pairs of breeches, silk and thread to mend his clothes."

59. Colonial Schools. —

Many of the colonists had been taught in English, Dutch, or German schools, and some were graduates of English universities. Therefore early steps were taken to give the boys simple schooling. Virginia was the first colony to try to set up a free school, but in colonial times fees were paid, even in the so-called "public schools," for those pupils whose parents could afford it.



An early form of primer. This was called a "hornbook" because a thin sheet of horn over the paper served to protect the printing

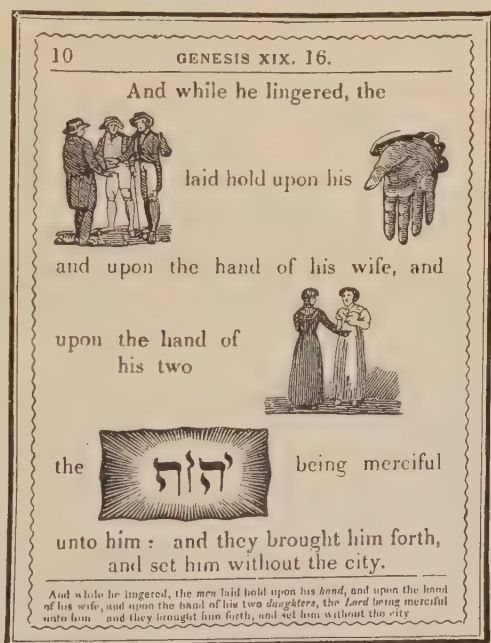
Nowhere outside of New England was money regularly raised by taxation to educate the children. In 1647 the General Court of Massachusetts required that every town of fifty families should keep up a school, and every town of a hundred families should keep up a "grammar school"; that is, a school where Latin was taught. Not every town obeyed the law, and not every boy went to school; and there was no requirement that girls be taught.

Both private and public schools were housed in rough little buildings poorly heated and lighted. Schoolmasters were often cruel, for it was then the custom throughout the world to make children learn by beating them. Textbooks were crude and badly printed, and the children learned little but what was later called "the three R's," "Reading, 'Riting, and 'Rithmetic."

Little girls could go to the so-called "dame schools," paying small fees, and older girls could go to the few ill-kept boarding schools. Yet somehow the liveliest people of the times were these same colonial girls, who were taught by their fathers and mothers, and elder brothers and sisters. A daughter of Cotton Mather learned Hebrew. Anne Bradstreet of Massachusetts composed poems. Eliza Lucas of South Carolina wrote a clever account of home life during the Revolution. Hannah Adams published one of the first school histories of the United States. Bright girls would learn with or without a good chance.

60. Colonial Colleges. — Between 1636 and 1701 three little colleges were founded, Harvard

in Massachusetts, William and Mary in Virginia, and Yale in Connecticut. In the next seventy years seven more were set up, including Kings (now Columbia) in the city of New



Facsimile of a page from a Bible printed especially for children

York, the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and Princeton in New Jersey. These colleges all took boys at thirteen to sixteen years of age, and gave them a four years' course of study that was not so good as that of a modern high school. Most of them were founded in order to educate ministers, and the boys all had to study Latin and Greek.

According to their own account many of the students were idle and mischievous. One of them writes, "Do not despise old times too much, for remember that 2 or 3 centuries from the time of seeing this, you will be counted as old times' folks as much as you count us to be so now . . . and very likely you are more given to vice than we are." President Stiles of Yale wrote in his diary, "An hundred and fifty or 180 Young Gentlemen Students is a bundle of Wild Fire not easily controlled & governed — and at best the Diadem of a President is a Crown of Thorns."

The president and tutors watched over and held court on such riotous fellows as three students who were once expelled "for their disorder and injurious carriage in killing and having stolen ropes, in hanging goodman Sells' dog upon the sign-post in the night." Yet there must have been plenty of good in colonial colleges, to judge by their students. Thomas Jefferson was a graduate of William and Mary, James Madison of Princeton, and John Adams of Harvard. Nathan Hale, who nobly lost his life for his country while serving as a spy in the Revolutionary War, was a graduate of Yale. George Washington was a self-educated man, but in his later life was chancellor — that is, president — of William and Mary College.

61. Colonial Reading Matter.— In all the colonies printing presses were set up, and several newspapers were founded. Benjamin Franklin was the best-known printer. The commonest book was the Bible, in which thousands of children learned their letters from the big capitals at the heads of the chapters. There were no Sunday schools in those days, but most children went to church. Religious homes held daily family worship with reading of Scripture and prayer; sometimes the children "read around," each a verse in succession.

The book best known after the Bible was the *New England Primer*, first issued about 1690. The little volume contains a few lists of words, spelling lessons, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, an account of Mr. John Rogers, a Protestant who had been burned at the stake in England, and the Shorter Catechism, which is a statement of Puritan doctrine. The quaintest thing in the book is the alphabet illustrated with poor woodcuts.

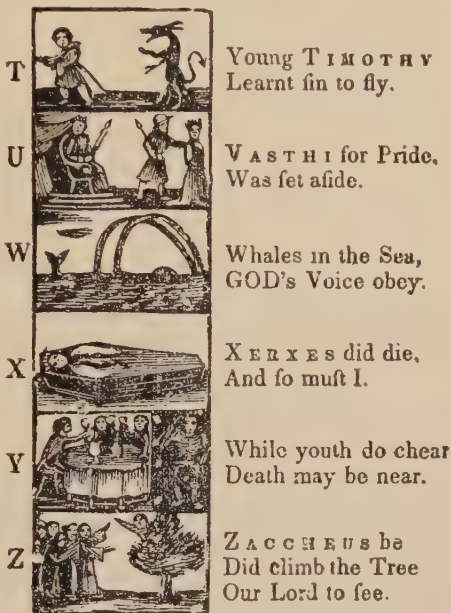
62. Summary. —

This chapter is an account of the people in the colonies, both the immigrants and the Indians, and of the social life of the English colonists, including the children.

The English colonies grew rapidly, though they had to fight their way against the In-

dians and against other European races. Besides the English, numbers of Germans and Scotch-Irish came to the middle and southern colonies, and many negroes were imported from Africa. The Indians were not included in the English civilized communities, but they traded freely with the whites, and often made savage war upon them.

Most of the colonists lived at first in log houses. Rich and poor suffered much from disease. In all sections there was lively social life with parties and visits, and outside New England there were horse racing and other amusements. The colonists were great churchgoers and organized churches in a great number of denominations, especially the Episcopalian,



A page of the alphabet from the *New England Primer*

Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Quaker, Catholic, and German Protestant. The ministers, especially the Puritans, were strong men and leaders in their communities. Religion did not prevent the colonists from being overcome by the dreadful delusion that there were witches; but the colonies were the first part of the Christian world to throw off the horrid belief.

Colonial children were numerous and, on the whole, happy. Their schools were few and poor, and were intended only for boys, though many girls learned to read. Little colleges grew up in which boys received further education, and in which the ministers of the older churches were trained. The girls in many families somehow became educated. Colonial literature was not important, except the religious books and the *New England Primer*; but the colleges and the educated families trained the great writers and speakers of the Revolution that was to come.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 50) 1. Did the English colonists have an easy time? 2. What attracted immigrants from Europe? 3. What European races were represented in the English colonies? 4. Why were negro slaves brought into the colonies?

(§ 51) 5. How were the Indians treated by the Spaniards, the French, and the English? 6. What rights did the English admit for the Indians? 7. What did the whites learn from the Indians? 8. What did the Indians learn from the whites?

(§ 52) 9. Why did Indian wars break out? 10. How did the whites make war on Indians? 11 (For an essay). An Indian raid.

(§ 53) 12. In what sort of houses did the colonists live? 13. What sort of furniture and utensils did the colonists have? 14. What were the most common diseases among the colonists?

(§ 54) 15. What did the colonists do for amusement? 16 (For an essay). A colonial party.

(§ 55) 17. What were the principal churches in the English colonies? 18. What was the work of the Methodists in America?

(§ 56) 19. What sort of ministers were found in the colonies? 20 (For an essay). Education and private life of Cotton Mather. 21. Ministers in the South.

(§ 57) 22. What was the belief in witchcraft? 23 (For an essay). Incidents of the Salem witchcraft trials.

(§ 58) 24. Who were the first children born in the colonies of Virginia and Plymouth? 25 (For an essay). Child life in the colonies. 26. How were the children of wealthy families dressed?

(§ 59) 27. What were public schools in the colonies? 28. Were there any free public schools in the colonies? 29. How were children taught in the colonies? 30. How were girls educated? 31 (For an essay). A day in a colonial school.

(§ 60) 32. What were the colonial colleges? 33 (For an essay). Account of college life in the colonies.

(§ 61) 34. What did the colonists read? 35. What was the *New England Primer*?

Goodness generally leads to universal Esteem.

Model lesson in a writing book of 1753, *The Compleat Penman*.

CHAPTER VI

WAR AND THE WEST (1689-1763)

63. Why was there War? — The period beginning about 1689 is a turning point in English and American history, for the mother country entered on a new kind of government: (1) The English people through their Parliament took control and selected William and Mary as their king and queen. (2) England and Scotland had been sister kingdoms under the same king; in 1707 they were united into the single kingdom of Great Britain with one Parliament. Ireland remained till 1800 a separate kingdom under the same king as Great Britain, but with its own Parliament.

France was looked upon as the natural enemy of England, and between 1689 and 1763 the two countries fought each other in four European wars. During that time England became the strongest naval power in the world. The French were trying to enlarge their colonies in America and India, and also to absorb Spain and the Spanish possessions; and therefore all the American colonies were drawn into these wars.

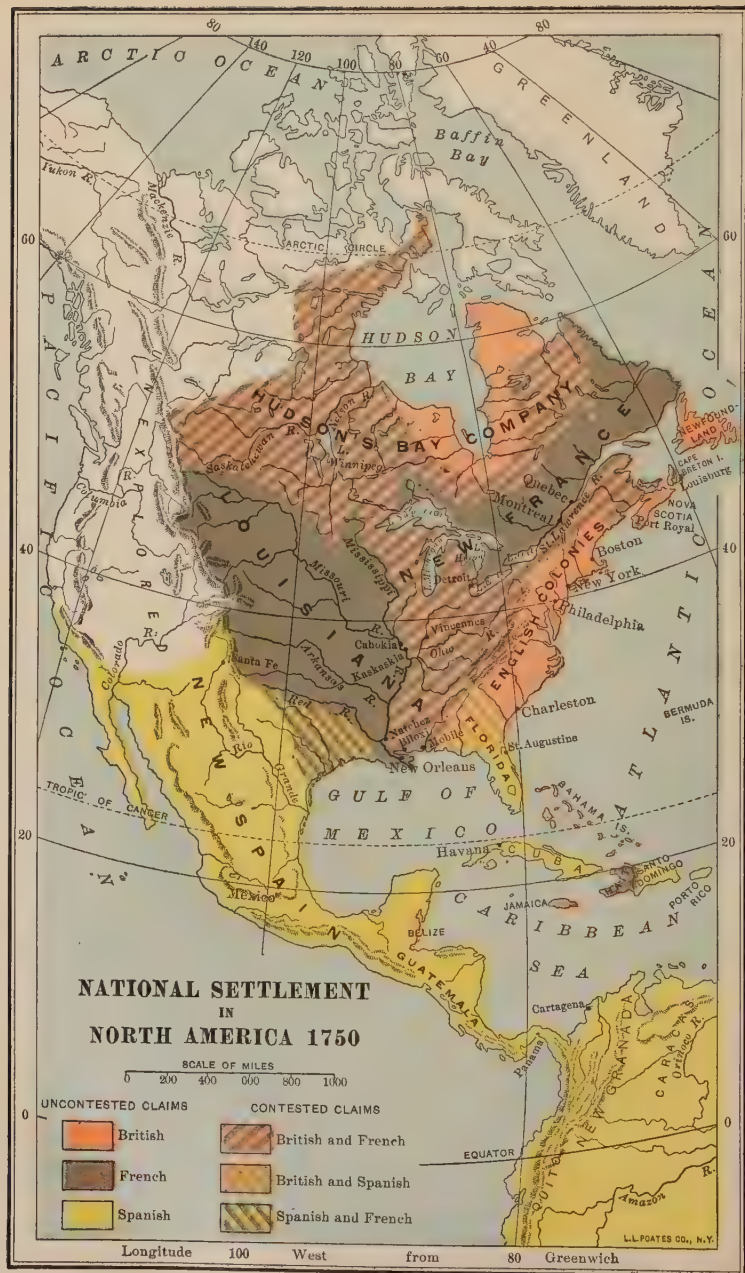
64. Colonists and Mother Country. — The English colonists looked upon themselves as Englishmen, bound to defend their country. They also claimed all the rights of Englishmen as set forth in the Magna Charta (§ 7), such as trial by jury, voting on their own taxes, and freedom from cruel punishments. They were very loyal to the royal family and looked upon whoever might be king or queen of England as a sort of saint. Therefore, whenever a war broke out in Europe, the English colonists helped to fit out fleets against their French and Spanish neighbors. They also captured the merchant ships of their enemies with privateers; that is, armed private ships furnished with "letters of marque" from the government, authorizing them to make such captures.

King William set up in England a new board called the "Board of Trade" to look after the colonies. The board examined the laws passed by the colonial assemblies and if it saw fit caused them to be vetoed in England. This plan was weak, and for many years little thought was given to the colonies by the home government; hence they had the chance to grow up in their own way.

65. Colony of Georgia (1732-1750). — Between South Carolina and Spanish Florida there was a vacant tract of land. In 1732 the new colony of Georgia (named for King George II) was founded there by James Oglethorpe, a wealthy and public-spirited Englishman, who wanted to give more opportunity to those of his countrymen who were in debt or could not make a living in England. For the first time in the history of the colonies, the settlers were forbidden to buy rum or to hold slaves. As all immigrants were allowed to practice their own religion, some Jews, Swiss, Protestant Scotchmen, and Germans were attracted there.

The charter granted the land from the Savannah River south to the Altamaha River (map, page 69), which was only about a hundred miles from the Spanish town of St. Augustine (§ 18). This meant that the English might have to fight for their colony. The land was good and settlers poured in; and after a few years the laws against liquor and slave holding were given up.

66. French Colony of Louisiana (1699-1740). — While Frenchmen and Englishmen were fighting each other in Europe and India and America, a new source of conflict arose in the interior of North America. France in 1699 began to occupy the magnificent valley which La Salle had explored (§ 39), by sending a French colonizing expedition under Iberville. He landed first at Dauphin Island south of the bay of Mobile, then on the mainland at Biloxi, then at old Mobile near the present city of Mobile. Part of the expedition entered the Mississippi River, where they found an English ship which seemed disposed to dispute their rights. They sent it to the right-about, and the bend of the river where this incident happened is still called "English Turn."



This little colony took the name of Louisiana. Like the early English settlers, the French settled on marshy land, and many of the people died from poor food or malaria. In 1712 a banker named Crozat got from the king of France the sole right to trade in Louisiana, which was then declared to include all the territory from Mexico to Carolina and the whole valley of the Mississippi and its branches; but in 1717 he surrendered his grant. In the following year (1718) the French built a little town on a slight elevation on the eastern bank of the great river, and called it New Orleans; the place soon became the capital and center of the colony.

Other little settlements, such as Natchez, were made on the Mississippi River and the streams flowing into it, but the colony grew very slowly. The French reached the Mississippi country also from Canada. Along the route they founded Detroit (1701) and the towns of Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia, near the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. They also tried to hold the friendship of the Indians by planting trading posts far north of Mobile.

67. Three Intercolonial Wars (1689-1748). — During "King William's War" (1689-1697) the French and their Indian allies made a series of terrible raids upon the English frontier. Hundreds of prisoners were carried back to the Indian villages or to Canada. On their side, the English colonists raided the French colony of Acadia and for a time held Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy (§ 38).

In 1699 great offense was given to Spain by the attempt of a Scotch company under Patterson to take possession of the Isthmus of Panama, which was called "this door of the sea, this key of the universe." Twelve hundred Scotchmen reached the Isthmus, but the English government would not back up the plan and thus lost the opportunity to plant a colony at this important point.

"Queen Anne's War" began in Europe in 1701 and at once spread to America. One of its famous incidents was the Indian raid on the frontier town of Deerfield in the Connecticut Valley (1704). The people did not expect an enemy in the midst of winter snows, and their strong stockade was taken by sur-

prise. The door of Parson Williams's house is still preserved as it was left by the Indians, after they had hacked a hole through so that they might fire into the house. The Carolinas were also attacked by Spaniards and were in great danger.

The French were beaten in Europe and were obliged to make peace (1713). This was the first step in the destruction of

their empire in America; for they yielded to England their claims to Hudson Bay and to Newfoundland, and they gave up Acadia, which the English renamed Nova Scotia.

During "King George's War" (1739-1748) England and Spain again came to blows because English ships would not stop trading with Spanish colonies. The French joined the war and received a terrible blow; for a fleet of English vessels carrying New England men captured their strong fortification of Louisburg on the island of Cape Breton (1745). Peace was made in 1748 and Louisburg



Door of Parson Williams's house, showing marks of the tomahawk. Preserved in the Deerfield Museum

was returned; but England and France were still at odds over the ownership of the West.

68. The English West (1700-1748).— Except in the extreme North and South, the English colonies were shut off from the French by the rugged ranges of the Appalachian Mountains. To the early English colonists "the West" meant only the strip a few miles back from the coast. Then they settled a frontier belt in such regions as the Berkshire Hills in New England, and the "Piedmont" hill country of Virginia.

By 1740 several currents of settlers were moving into the interior. Dutch, German, and English farmers, in spite of

the dangers from the Indians, took up the rich land in the Mohawk Valley. Germans moved west in Pennsylvania, and settled York, Lancaster, and other towns (map, page 105). Scotch-Irish and Germans made their way into the valley of the Shenandoah, commonly called "the valley of Virginia." There, more than a hundred years later, was born, out of the Scotch-Irish stock, Woodrow Wilson, who became President of the United States in 1913. Other Scotch-Irish settlers took up land in the broken country of the western Carolinas, where President Andrew Jackson was born.

The colonial governors helped along the western movement, for they wanted to dispose of the lands belonging to the colonies, and to plant settlements to keep the Indians in check. The Iroquois — now "Six Nations" — still lay like a wall across the frontiers of New York; therefore one of the principal men in the countryside, Sir William Johnson of Johnson Hall, in central New York, made it the labor of his life to gain their good will, and he kept them in good temper for many years.

The country farther west, beyond the Appalachians, was as hard to reach as Alaska is now. The only Englishmen who then traveled through those immense forests were the traders, who led their pack horses from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia to the villages of the Cherokees and Creeks of the Southwest, and to the Shawnees and Miamis of the Northwest.

69. Rivalry on the Ohio (1748-1754). — The time was approaching when the English would begin to push for possession of the interior. In 1749 a French officer named Céloron de Bienville was ordered to go down the Ohio River, and at various places to bury lead plates inscribed with the arms of France, as a proof that this was French territory. In defiance of this claim some Virginia gentlemen formed what they called the Ohio Company, and invited settlers to take up land near the Ohio River.

The French then built a chain of forts from Lake Ontario to the Ohio Valley; and the governor of Virginia sent out (1753) a gallant young Virginian, named George Washington, to warn the French to withdraw from the Ohio country. This young man, tall, strong, and spirited, belonged to a well-known

family. He had been a surveyor on the frontier and had the friendship of Lord Fairfax, a great landowner in Virginia. Since the French refused to withdraw, Washington was sent out again in 1754, in command of an armed party, to defend an English post on the Ohio River. He was too late. On his way to the Ohio he met a small French force, and attacked and defeated it. He then hastily threw up an intrenchment which he called Fort Necessity; but a larger French force soon came up and captured it. These little battles on the eastern edge of the Ohio basin were the beginning of another war.

70. French and Indian War (1754-1758). — This struggle, called in America the French and Indian War, and in Europe the Seven Years' War, raged in America, on the continent of Europe, in far-off India, and at sea, where hundreds of merchant ships were captured on both sides. The two most notable events in the early war were the Albany Congress and Braddock's expedition.

Just as the war was breaking out, seven of the colonies sent delegates to Albany in 1754 to induce the Indians to fight on their side. One of the members was Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, who proposed a kind of colonial union, which is the germ of the later Union of the United States.

Braddock's expedition was sent out in 1755 against a small force of French troops which was building Fort Duquesne at "the forks of the Ohio," the site of the present Pittsburgh. Braddock was a brave officer and a good commander, but did not understand how to fight savage foes in a wooded country. His soldiers built a narrow road, which came to be called Braddock's Road, and parts of which can still be traced. The most capable man in his army was Colonel George Washington, who two years before had been over the route.

The little column arrived almost in sight of Fort Duquesne, when it was attacked by the French with Indian allies, and totally defeated. Washington wrote to his mother, "I luckily escaped without a wound though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me." It was three years before the English were able to return and take the fort.

One of the painful incidents of this war was the carrying away of the French population of Acadia, which had remained **after** the English took possession forty years before (§ 67). Fearing that the people would turn against them, the English brought these farmers and their families together, destroyed their villages, and carried the inhabitants off down the coast.



General Braddock was accompanied by Colonel Washington on the expedition against Fort Duquesne

Some went as far as New Orleans, and their descendants still live in that neighborhood.

71. Capture of the West by the English (1758-1763). — During the first four years of the European war the English army had the worst of it in battle after battle; but the French navy was almost driven from the sea, so that France could not send aid to Canada. William Pitt now arose as the great

minister and leader of England. Under him the English took heart again; the colonists captured the western French posts, including Fort Duquesne, and an English fleet and army took Louisburg (§ 67). Crown Point on Lake Champlain was also taken (1759).

Finally, on the lower St. Lawrence River, General James Wolfe captured Quebec in one of the most dashing movements of the war (1759). He led his men up a steep cliff to the Heights of Abraham; there the French under Montcalm were defeated, and Quebec surrendered. Meanwhile the British forces attacked and captured the French possessions in India, and the rich Spanish cities of Manila in the Philippine Islands and Havana in Cuba. There was nothing for the French and Spanish to do but yield.

The French had already ceded to Spain (1762) the whole of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and the Island of Orleans on which New Orleans stands, east of the river. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) France transferred to England: (1) the eastern part of Louisiana (except New Orleans) from the Mississippi River to the mountain ridges of the Appalachians; (2) the St. Lawrence country, including lands and islands near the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River and Gulf. The English gave up Cuba and Manila, but in exchange took Florida from Spain, and thus secured, for a time, the whole eastern half of the continent of North America. In this way France, after two hundred years of effort, lost every square foot of territory on the continent; and the cession of Florida to England was the first step toward the break-up of the Spanish land empire in America. Many officers and soldiers of the American armies gained an experience in warfare which was to be useful to them in the later Revolution.

72. New Western Frontier (1763-1766). — The English colonists, after fighting so long and so hard, expected that the western country would be turned over to them for settlement. But a royal order appeared, establishing the so-called "Proclamation Line" (1763); it reserved for the Indians "the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea [that is, the Atlantic Ocean]

from the west and northwest." In addition three new British colonies were created: (1) Quebec, which included the valley of the St. Lawrence River; (2) East Florida; (3) West Florida on the Gulf coast. Georgia was extended southward to the St. Marys River, which was the north boundary of East Florida (map, page 105).

The Proclamation Line ignored the fact that the original charters of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia promised to those colonies strips of territory as far west as the Pacific Ocean; and similar charters of Massachusetts and Connecticut were still in force. However, New York and Pennsylvania paid no attention to the claims of the two New England colonies, which cut right across them.

In spite of the Proclamation Line, settlers at once began to find their way into the triangular area lying between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. The northwestern Indians disliked the change of masters from the French to the English, and rose under Pontiac

(1763). It took three years of fighting to bring the Indians to acknowledge King George of England as their sovereign.

73. Opening of the West (1758-1774). — As soon as the French were driven out, immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania, most of them Scotch-Irish or German, crossed the mountains and built around Fort Pitt a village (1758), which grew into the town of Pittsburgh. Virginia also granted lands as far as the Ohio River; and several attempts were made to set up new western colonies south of the Ohio, such as Transylvania and Westsylvania, without the consent of the



The northwestern Indians, defeated by the English Colonel Bouquet, were forced to give up their white captives. From a painting by Benjamin West

home government. Nevertheless, till after 1775 there were few English-speaking inhabitants of the Ohio country.



Boonesboro, Kentucky, built under the leadership of Daniel Boone. The high stockade and the heavy gate are typical of early frontier settlements

Farther south a similar movement began under the famous explorer, Daniel Boone. He lived in western North Carolina, and in 1769 he began to explore the country on the headwaters of the Tennessee. Thence he followed through Cumberland Gap, by a route which for many years was called "Boone's Trace," into the rich country of central Kentucky. Boone was a fearless pioneer, who thought nothing of spending weeks alone in the woods, among savage enemies. The Indians once captured him, and he would probably have been burned at the stake had he not made a daring escape.

The first settlement west of the divide was high up in the mountains on the headwaters of the Watauga River. Three pioneers, William Beane, John Sevier, and James Robertson, were leading spirits in the little colony there, under an agreement which they called the "Watauga Association."

Most of the settlers had nothing but what was called a "tomahawk right" to their land; that is, they cut their initials into a tree, and thereafter claimed the land in the neighborhood. One of the early settlers says that in those days the table furniture "consisted of a few pewter dishes, plates, and spoons; of wooden bowls, trenchers,¹ and noggins²; of gourds and hardshell squashes."

¹ Plates.

² Small cups.



Daniel Boone had many thrilling escapes from the Indians

74. Summary. — This chapter is an account of the rivalry and the wars between the Spaniards and Frenchmen on the one side, and the English on the other, especially for the ownership of colonies. It briefly describes four intercolonial wars, and particularly the opening of the West to the English.

The English, French, and Spanish colonies all took part in a series of four intercolonial wars at intervals from 1689 to 1763. In all of these wars English colonists looked upon themselves as Englishmen in America. The last of the English colonies, Georgia, was planted in 1732 against the protests of Spain.

A struggle between England and France for territory in North America began when the French settled the colony of Louisiana (1699) and connected it with Canada by small forts. The net result of the second war, for England, was that the French gave up their claims to Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia (1713). About 1750 the English began to push across the mountains and claim the Ohio Valley. George Washington was sent out to protest against the French occupation, and took part in the first skirmishes of the French and Indian War (1754). Braddock's fatal campaign was made the following year.

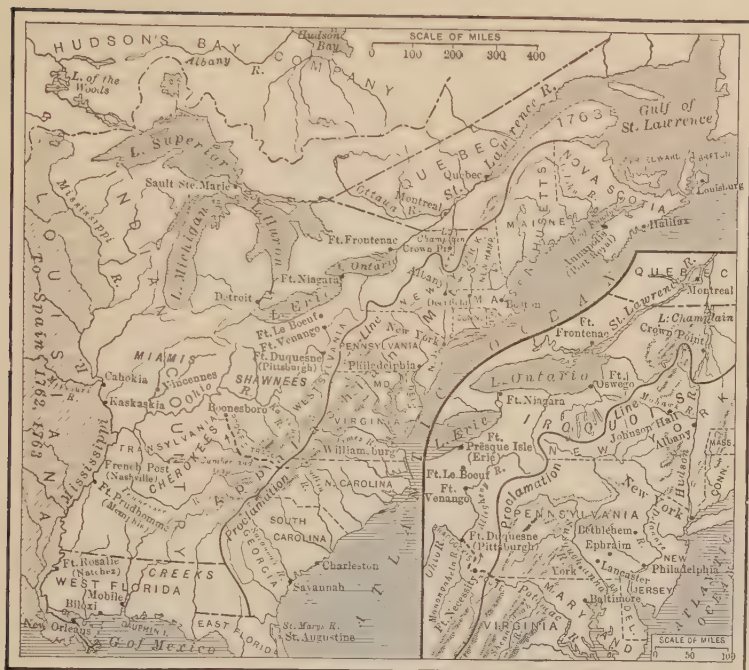
Partly by this pushing westward and partly by Wolfe's capture of Quebec in 1759, the English conquered the French possessions on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes and also took that part of Louisiana which lay east of the Mississippi River. By the Proclamation Line the English government tried to keep the colonies from extending westward, but Daniel Boone and others crossed the mountains and began to make western settlements.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 63) 1. How and when were England and Scotland united? 2. Why did France and England go to war?

(§ 64) 3. How did the English colonists look on the mother country? 4. Why did the colonists join in the wars? 5. What was the Board of Trade?

(§ 65) 6. How and when was Georgia founded? 7. How did it prosper?

(§ 66) 8. How and when was Louisiana founded? 9. How far did it extend? 10. What towns were founded by the French in the Mississippi Valley?

(§ 67) 11. Account of King William's War. 12. What was the Patterson expedition? 13 (For an essay). An account of the Indian raid on Deerfield. 14. How and when did the French begin to yield territory to the English? 15. What was the result of King George's War?

(§ 68) 16. What did "the West" mean to the early colonists? 17. What was the first western movement in the middle and southern colonies? 18. How did the Six Nations affect the western movement? 19. How did Englishmen reach the western interior?

(§ 69) 20 (For an essay). Account of Bienville's voyage down the Ohio River. 21 (For an essay). Account of George Washington's trip to the frontier. 22. Why and where did war break out with the French in 1754?

(§ 70) 23. Account of the Albany Congress. 24. Why was Braddock's army sent into the West? 25 (For an essay). Account of Braddock's defeat. 26 (For an essay). Was it reasonable to remove the Acadians?

(§ 71) 27. How did the English fare in the first part of the French and Indian War? 28. What conquests did the English take from the French? 29. How was North America divided by the treaty of 1763?

(§ 72) 30. What was the Proclamation Line? 31. What new British colonies were created? 32. What far western claims had the coast colonies? 33. How did the Indians receive their British masters?

(§ 73) 34. How was Pittsburgh founded? 35. What efforts were made to organize new colonies in the West? 36 (For an essay). Accounts of Daniel Boone's explorations and adventures. 37. What was the Watauga Association? 38. How did the early westerners live?

CHAPTER VII

COLONIAL LABOR AND COLONIAL BUSINESS (1689-1763)

75. Three Groups of Colonies. — During the intercolonial wars the existence of three sections in the English colonies was brought out sharply.

(1) The four New England colonies — New Hampshire, Massachusetts (including Maine and Plymouth), Connecticut, and Rhode Island — were much alike. All were settled by the English, mostly strict Puritans; all had the same system of towns, each with a common church and a town meeting. All were farming communities, but in addition all had two other pursuits. First, they built ships from the timber growing near the coast, and used them in part for fisheries, and in part for trading. Second, a class of keen business men bought up furs, potash, timber, fish, and rum, and shipped them to Europe or to the West Indies. From the profits of the trade they built handsome houses, stores and warehouses, and more ships.



The old Ladd house in Portsmouth, N. H. An excellent type of colonial three-story dwelling

(2) The four middle colonies — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware — had a mixed population, including Germans, Scotch-Irish, and some other European races. Their main occupation was farming, together with lumbering and the raising of cattle, but they all had seaports and shipping. Pennsylvania soon became the richest of the English colonies in North America, and Philadelphia was the largest and most prosperous port. New York was held back because it was so long cut off from connection with the back country by the Iroquois Indians.

(3) The five colonies in the southern group — Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia — had a social and business life of their own. Many independent white farmers worked their land, just as in Pennsylvania and Connecticut; but much of the land was held in large estates and worked by slaves. Most of these estates had a front on tidewater, and the interior roads were poor. Although the South had several seaport towns such as Baltimore, Norfolk, and Savannah, and one city — Charleston — the southerners did not build or sail their own ships, and had practically no industries except farming and the making of naval stores (§ 45). Much grain was exported from Virginia and Maryland, tobacco from most of the colonies, and rice and indigo from South Carolina. With the proceeds the people bought luxuries, slaves, and part of their food.

76. A Southern Gentleman. — An interesting southerner of that time was William Byrd, founder of the towns of Richmond and Petersburg, and said to be the richest planter in Virginia. Byrd kept buying land till he had 180,000 acres, and slaves till he owned hundreds. He was fond of books, brought together a library of 3500 volumes, and wrote an interesting book called *The History of the Dividing Line*.

This is an account of his service in running the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina in 1729. Through thick woods and over mountains he pushed his way, finding a few frontiersmen, runaway slaves, and Indians in places where, as he says, the wet ground "was made a fitter Lodging for Tadpoles than Men." He visited the Indians at Notto-

way Town and was "entertained with Sundry War-Dances Wherein they endeavour'd to look as formidable as possible." He shot deer and wild turkeys, trapped beavers and otters, and throughout made light of all the hardships of the way.

Byrd owned a good house, silver plate, and handsome furniture. Like other planters he shipped tobacco direct to England, and in return he ordered clothing and luxuries for himself and his family.

77. White Servants. — It is hard now to realize the physical toil required in starting the colonies. The Atlantic slope was almost entirely covered with trees, some of them, like the Waverly oaks near Boston, nearly a thousand years old. The settlers cleared the land by girdling, and thus killing, the trees, so that the sun could strike in. When the ground was turned up and seed was sown among the tree trunks, the rich soil bore a large crop. As the trees decayed and their branches fell, they were gathered into piles and burned, and in the course of years the stumps were destroyed. In the northern colonies millions of tons of bowlders and smaller stones had to be thrown off the fields. Another great labor was the building and repairing of roads, which included laying causeways across swamps, cutting into steep hills, and removing trees and stumps.

Land was easy to get, and one man or one family might own thousands of acres. Hired servants were brought over to work these large estates, but as soon as they could buy land they set up for themselves. To meet the need of labor great numbers of "indentured," or "indentured," servants were imported. These were men and women legally bound to work during a term of years for a particular master; they could be whipped if they offended, and brought back if they ran away. Many of them were "redemptioners"; that is, men and women brought over by sea captains on speculation, and kept as prisoners on board ship, until some one would pay the passage money; in return for this favor they had to serve him from one to seven years. George Washington once tried to import a shipload of German redemptioners.

An unusual example of the redemptioner is John Harrower, who in 1774 was in London, and so poor that he says, "Being

reduced to the last shilling I had, I was obliged to go to Virginia for four years as a schoolmaster, for bed, board, washing, and five pounds during the whole time." After his landing at Fredericksburg, Virginia, a gentleman paid his passage, and took him home as a servant, and he became the trusted friend of the family.

Another kind of servants consisted of English convicts and prisoners of war. Hundreds of Scotchmen who had fought against the English government were sent out to be sold in the colonies as slaves for life; Indians taken in battle, Dutchmen on the Delaware, even Quakers were sold in this way. Some of the convicts were entirely innocent and worthy people, some of them were the lowest of mankind.

78. The Slave Trade. — Englishmen boasted of their natural freedom from the absolute will of any other man, even the king. Though the indentured servants were often treated with cruelty and were little better than slaves, their children were always free. Nevertheless the English colonists, as soon as they landed, began to make slaves of the Indians, on the ground that they were heathen and had no rights. But Indian slavery was a failure, because few of the Indians knew how to work, and they and their children rapidly died off.

The system of negro slavery began in Virginia (§ 29), and soon spread throughout the colonies. The people of New England and the middle colonies used comparatively few slaves, but they bought and carried and sold them for others. The negro tribes on the west coast of Africa raided their neighbors with fearful cruelties to furnish the supply; and the Christians of Spain, Portugal, France, and England packed the captives into ships and carried them to America by the so-called "Middle Passage," from Africa across the mid-Atlantic. The profits were high, and the few colonies that tried to limit the trade were overruled by the English government.

Slavery and the slave trade were always mistakes. They led every colony to deny the rights of man to a part of its population; and they brought into America a strange and then savage race which otherwise would never have come. The history of the northern colonies shows that slavery was not

necessary to open up a new country; free labor would have been better; and all sections would have been happier and wealthier without slaves.

79. Colonial Slavery. — One excuse for slavery was that the negroes were brought over in order to make them Christians; but when Christianized the negro was still a slave, and every child of a slave woman was born a slave. On the other hand, slaves might be set free, and then their children would be free. Such free negroes might hold property like other people; and in all the colonies except two, free negroes could at one time or another vote if they had the amount of property required of a white voter.

Slaves and indentured servants would often run away, and the newspapers of the times abound in advertisements such as the following: "A young servant man named William Haines, small stature, ruddy complexion, big nose, big blue eyes, pock broken, has no hair, branded on the brawn of his thumb." Or the following: "To be sold, a likely negro boy, this country born, and a good plain gold watch."

Some of the colonists saw at the time that slavery was a bad thing for the negroes, and worse for the whites. In 1688 the Germantown Quakers passed a vote against it, on the ground that, "Now though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as [than] it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we should do to all men like as we will be done ourselves." Several Quakers, especially John Woolman, went up and down the colonies urging people to give up their slaves. John Adams and Benjamin Franklin were both very proud of never having owned slaves; and just before the Revolution an antislavery society was founded in Pennsylvania.

80. Colonial System of Trade. — All the colonizing nations in this period depended on the "Colonial System," the idea of which was that each colony was planted, not so much for the benefit of the people who lived there, as for the profit of the merchants of the mother country.

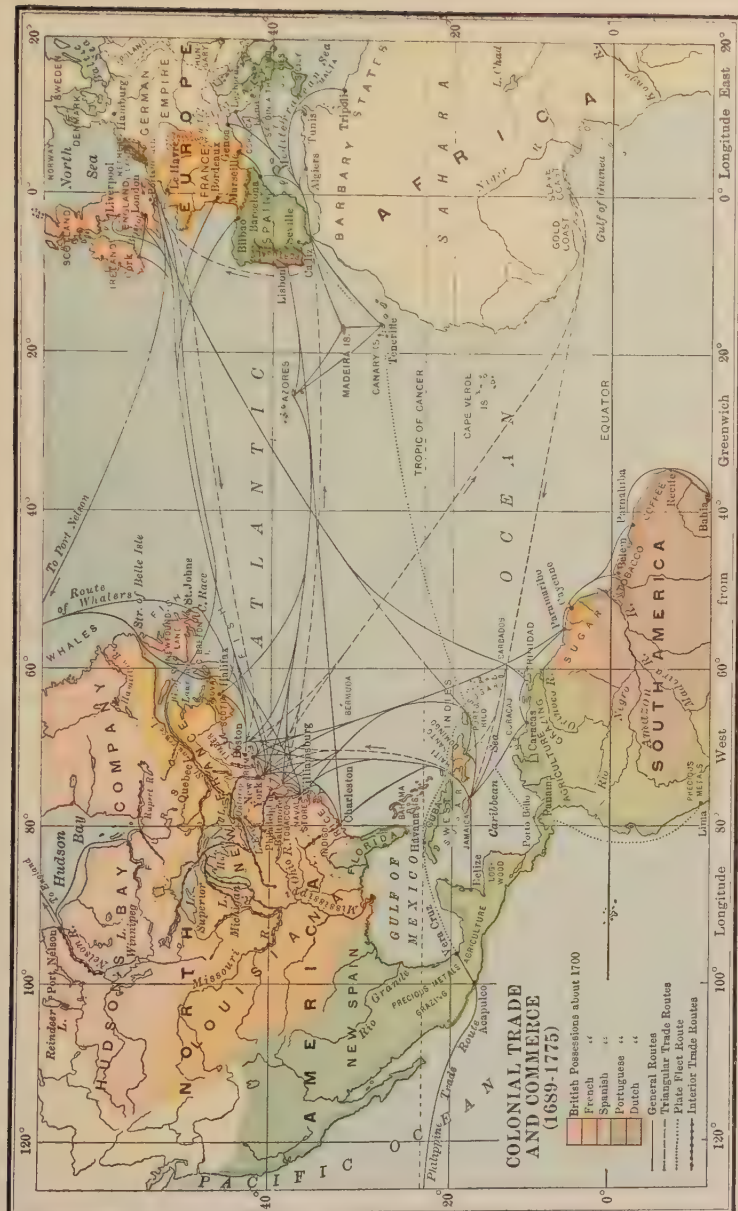
Spain pushed this very far; no one was allowed to settle in Spanish colonies or even to visit them, without permission from

the home government. Spanish vessels, when allowed to trade with America, had to come and go in a fleet which was called "the plate fleet" because it brought home silver, which was often called plate. Spanish colonies had to send all their surplus products to Spain through Spanish merchants. They could not trade freely from one colony to another.

The Colonial System of the English was more liberal. The so-called Navigation Acts or Acts of Trade (§ 42) made provision as follows: (1) All the colonial exports had to be carried in "English" vessels; but vessels owned in the colonies were considered English. (2) "Enumerated goods," which included most of the exports and imports of the colonies, had to pass through English ports and pay a profit to English merchants. (3) The colonists were not allowed to make rolled iron, or to make hats or woolen goods that would compete with English importations. (4) On the other hand, the British government paid bounties for the production of such things as silk and naval stores; and the colonists had a good market in England for many of their surplus products.

Whenever the colonists felt hampered by the Navigation Acts they simply disobeyed them. Smuggling was common, and some Bostonians were guilty of locking a revenue officer in the cabin of the ship *Liberty* (1768) till several casks of Madeira wine could be smuggled off. In 1733 the British government passed what was called the "Molasses Act," which was intended to force the continental colonists to buy their sugar of the British West India colonies; but somehow French and Spanish sugar was brought in just the same.

81. Internal Business. — In all the colonies the principal occupation was raising crops and animals. The settlers, from Virginia to New Hampshire, cultivated wheat and other grain; Indian corn grew everywhere; tobacco was raised in many colonies, and rice and indigo in the far South. In most parts of the country horses, sheep, cattle, and hogs abounded. All along the coast, oysters, clams, and fish were abundant. There was plenty of wild game, such as deer, turkeys, ducks, and geese. The colonists did not lack food, and had a surplus to export.



The fisheries on the New England coast were especially valuable. Besides taking the inshore catch of mackerel, New England vessels fished offshore on the banks of Newfoundland (§ 38), and brought home great quantities of codfish — jokingly called “Cape Cod turkey.” Codfish were salted and packed to meet a large demand in the West Indies and elsewhere.

Several kinds of merchants bought and sold among the people:

(1) The traders with the Indians carried stocks of beads, blankets, calico, iron kettles, rum, tomahawks, gunpowder, and muskets, which they exchanged for furs and deerskins and buffalo robes.

(2) In the villages and at the crossroads could be found small stores for local business. The storekeeper would take grain, pork, beef, or butter and eggs, at agreed rates. In return he sold salt meats and fish, flour, dry goods, needles and pins, tools, cloth, tobacco, molasses, rum, and a hundred other things.

(3) The big merchants of the larger places gathered products through the country traders or direct from the producers, and made up shipments to send to other colonies and to England.

82. Manufactures and Currency. — Practically no factories existed in the colonies. Some pig and bar iron was made on the coast, and most of it went to England. Out of the rod and finished iron which came back the blacksmiths fashioned horseshoes and wrought-iron nails, such as can still be found in old houses. Saddles and harnesses, wagons, doors, and windows were all made by local workmen. There were no cloth factories and no cloth-making machines. Most of the people wore homespun; that is, wool which was carded, spun into yarn by the old-fashioned spinning wheels, and then woven on a hand loom. Many farmers made, on their own farms, almost everything that they used or wore; and in the South the skilled slaves made tools, built houses, and wove cloth.

The colonists very much needed a good currency; that is, money which passes from hand to hand, and which would

be the same all over the country. The gold and silver in circulation came mostly from foreign countries — Spanish gold doubloons, Portuguese moidores, English guineas, and small silver from all over the western world. The coin best known was the Mexican dollar, often called a “piece of eight.” There were no banks or bank bills, but the colonial governments often issued paper money. This was not always redeemed in coin, and frequently people would not take it at its face value. Therefore, the English government, about the time of the French and Indian War, forbade any further issues. Because of the lack of money, much of the business was carried on by barter, so many oxhides or bushels of wheat being given for so many pounds of tobacco or so many gallons of molasses.

83. Foreign Trade. — The trade from the continental colonies was about equally divided between the West Indies and England, and there were several triangular trades. For instance, vessels took rum and other trade goods from New England to Africa; with these goods they bought slaves, whom they carried to the West Indies; there they traded the slaves for hard cash and molasses; then they took the molasses home to make more rum.

The trade to England was chiefly in furs, fish, and lumber. The best and tallest trees in the forest were reserved to make masts for the ships of the English navy. The burning of the trees to clear the land left quantities of valuable ashes, and the lye or potash obtained from them was a regular article of trade. From the South came the naval stores for which there was a brisk demand from over sea.

In exchange the merchants bought dress goods for men and women, such as oznabrig, which was a German linen; paduasoy, which was Italian silk; and velvets and brocades for the gentry. They imported locks and other hardware, powder, shot, and guns, farm tools, carriages, wine from Madeira and Spain, crockery for the poor, and fine china for the rich.

Anybody who could secure a cargo might sail across the seas and sell it according to his best judgment. Much of the

trade to the West Indies was of this kind, but part of the business was done by the wealthy firms, such as the Morrisises in Philadelphia and the Hancocks in Boston, who bought all sorts of produce and even ships, which they sold abroad. Such firms acted as bankers, and would collect money for their customers abroad.

84. Travel and Transportation. — Most of the roads in the colonies were crooked, rough, and swampy. Few of the streams were bridged, so that one of the incidents of travel was to ford or swim a river, or to cross it in a boat. In the back country, especially in the mountains, the only roads were horse trails, so that all goods had to be packed on horses, and travelers had either to ride horseback or go afoot.

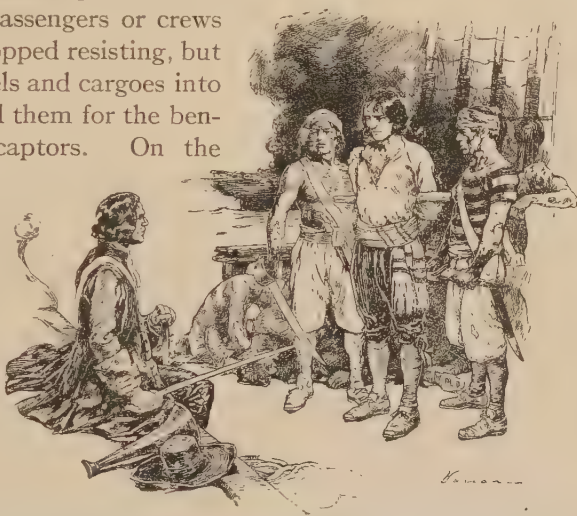
A lively lady, Madam Knight, has left an account of a hard horseback trip which she made from Boston to New Haven in 1704. The only way to secure a guide was to go along with the carrier of the mail. She had to stay at rude houses and inns, where the people annoyed her with questions and remarks such as, "Who are you?" — "Where are you going?" — "I never see a woman on the road so dreadful late in all the days of my versall life!" She crossed a broad river in a little canoe, her horse swimming behind her; and she arrived fresh and cheerful.

The easiest way to travel from one colony to another was by sea; and there was plenty of opportunity to take passage in small vessels, such as sloops, schooners, and brigs. Travelers bound across the sea preferred the larger merchant ships; the well-to-do paid for cabins and took meals with the captain.

85. Pirates and Privateers. — One of the drawbacks to ocean travel was the great danger from pirates. The West Indies for nearly a century were infested with robbers, commonly called filibusters or buccaneers, who made up fleets of vessels strong enough to take fortified cities. One of the leaders, the Englishman Sir Henry Morgan, captured and sacked old Panama, near the site of the southern entrance to the present Panama Canal. Many of the wretched inhabitants were put to torture to make them reveal where they had hidden their money.

Pirates long ranged boldly up and down the Atlantic coast. The notorious pirate Teach was captured by two sloops sent out by the governor of Virginia, and the victorious vessels came home with the pirate's head stuck on a bowsprit. All the spoils of the pirates came out of the profits of honest traders, and they would destroy a dozen vessels and murder a hundred people, in order to steal a few score pieces of gold.

Whenever there was war, vessels were subject to capture by the ships of war and the privateers of the other side (§ 64). These, unlike the pirates, did not kill the passengers or crews after they stopped resisting, but sent the vessels and cargoes into ports and sold them for the benefit of the captors. On the other hand, the English colonists also took out letters of marque authorizing them to capture the merchantmen of enemies, and seized hundreds of French and Spanish ships, so that, after all, privateering was a kind of exchange.



The pirate Stede Bonnet, a terror to shipping from Maine to the Gulf, was captured by Colonel Rhett in 1718, after a five-hour fight off the coast of South Carolina

86. Summary. — This chapter adds to the account of social life in Chapter V, a description of the way in which the colonists carried on their business affairs. This includes free and slave labor, foreign trade, and the difficulties and restrictions upon that trade.

The English colonies were grouped into three sections which were somewhat unlike in climate, people, and productions.

New England, besides its farming, carried on fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding, and trading; the middle colonies had about the same industries, except the fishing, and enjoyed a large foreign trade; the southern colonies lived almost entirely from their crops and naval stores. The South was especially proud of its handsome estates and the agreeable life of the planters.

In all the colonies there was a class of white servants bound to serve for a term of years or for life, and large numbers of negroes were brought over every year from Africa by the cruel slave trader. Slavery was contrary to free democratic government, and some people, especially the Quakers, objected to it.

The colonial trade of all nations was limited by navigation laws, intended to give a good part of the profits of the oversea trade to home merchants. The English Acts of Trade were rather easy, and when they were strict the colonial merchants simply disobeyed them.

Settlers had plenty of food and were well supplied by traders of various kinds. The fisheries, especially for cod, were very valuable. The colonists made some pig iron and manufactured most of their farm and household implements, and spun and wove their own woolen homespun. They used foreign gold and silver and some paper money. They traded with England and the West Indies, and rich merchants imported silks, linens, and other luxuries.

Transportation by land was difficult because of the bad roads and long distances; sea travel was easier, though subject to the dangers of shipwreck, of pirates, and, in time of war, of privateers.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 75) 1. Name the principal British colonies in North America. 2. Name the colonies and describe the business and industries of New England. 3. Name the middle colonies and describe their business and industries. 4. Name the southern colonies and describe their business and industries.

(§ 76) 5. How did rich southern planters such as Byrd live?

(§ 77) 6. How was the land prepared for tillage? 7. What were the white servants and how were they treated? 8. Who were the redemptioners? 9 (For an essay). Life of white servants.

(§ 78) 10. Why did Indian slavery break down? 11. How was the slave trade carried on? 12. Was slavery a good thing?

(§ 79) 13. How were free negroes treated? 14 (For an essay). Accounts of runaway slaves in colonial times. 15. Who first agitated against slavery in the colonies?

(§ 80) 16. What was the Colonial System? 17. What were the principal provisions of the Acts of Trade? 18. What was the Molasses Act?

(§ 81) 19. What were the principal colonial products? 20. How was the colonial internal trade carried on?

(§ 82) 21. What were the principal colonial manufactures? 22. What sort of currency circulated in the colonies?

(§ 83) 23. What were the principal exports? 24. What were the principal imports? 25. How was foreign trade carried on? 26 (For an essay). Accounts of colonial voyages across the ocean.

(§ 84) 27. How did people travel within the colonies? 28 (For an essay). An account of a colonial journey.

(§ 85) 29. What were the dangers in ocean travel? 30 (For an essay). Accounts of colonial pirates. 31. What were privateers?

CHAPTER VIII

WHY THERE WAS A REVOLUTION (1763-1774)

87. The British Empire (1763).—After the end of the long colonial wars the English colonists were as well off as any other people in the world. They were proud of being Britons, as



The British Empire in 1775

the English, Scotch, and Welsh were called; though the names "England" and "English" were common instead of "Great Britain" and "British," just as they are often

used now. The colonists liked to think of themselves as part of the British Empire, which included Great Britain, Ireland, and three groups of distant colonies, as follows:

(1) The Asiatic possessions, of which the richest was a portion of India.

(2) The British West Indies, which included Jamaica and some of the smaller islands, and the little settlement of Belize on the coast of Central America.

(3) The continental colonies of North America. In the period from 1763 to 1775 this last group was divided into nineteen units as follows: (a) The thirteen colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia, which later became the thirteen original United States. (b) The four northern colonies: Hudson's Bay Company, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Quebec, which was extended (1774) to include the region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. (c) The two little southern colonies of East Florida and West Florida.

88. How the British Empire was Ruled. — Although the colonies had a rapidly growing population, profitable trade, low taxes, and an easy-going government, about 1763 trouble arose between Great Britain and the North American colonies. To understand it we must know a few details about the government of the British Empire. People talked about the "Constitution of the Empire," but there was no written document like the present Constitution of the United States. The British Constitution meant only the habits and customs which were usual in making laws and carrying on the home government and the government of the colonies. The principal customs affecting the colonies were as follows:

(1) Certain general laws for all parts of the empire were made by a Parliament composed of two bodies: a House of Lords, who inherited their titles and their right to sit in Parliament, and a House of Commons elected from England and Scotland. The colonists had, therefore, no part in choosing the body that would make laws for them.

(2) Each colony in America had its own government, with an elected assembly, and local governments in towns or counties; but the governors of nearly all the colonies were appointed by the home government; and the laws passed by the assemblies could be vetoed by the governors, or (if the governors signed them) by the home government.

(3) The commerce of the colonies was regulated by the Acts of Trade (§ 80), which aimed to prevent direct trade with

the neighboring Spanish and French colonies in the West Indies.

(4) Most of the expenses, both of the colonies and of the mother country, were met by laying taxes, which required the owners of property to pay a percentage of its value every year into the public treasury. The English people had long enjoyed the privilege of "No taxation without representation";

that is, taxes could be laid only by Parliament or by other selected bodies. That method was also usual in the thirteen colonies, where the assemblies voted the colonial taxes.

(5) The colonists also shared in the great "inalienable rights" of Englishmen (§ 7); that is, rights which neither king nor Parliament nor colonial governments could take away. Such rights the colonists claimed as a part of their birthright as Englishmen. As long as they had them, they felt well contented with their government, and with their place in the British Empire.



Patrick Henry's fame as an eloquent speaker began in 1763 when he won a suit known as the "Parson's Cause"

89. Efforts of the Home Country to Govern (1760-1767). — This content was disturbed when in 1760 George III came to the British throne. In one of his early speeches he said, "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton." He was in many ways a good man, upright, truthful, and true to his friends; but he was a poor king, for he was narrow, stubborn, and determined to be stronger than Parliament.

The British government soon began to put pressure on the colonists by enforcing the Acts of Trade.

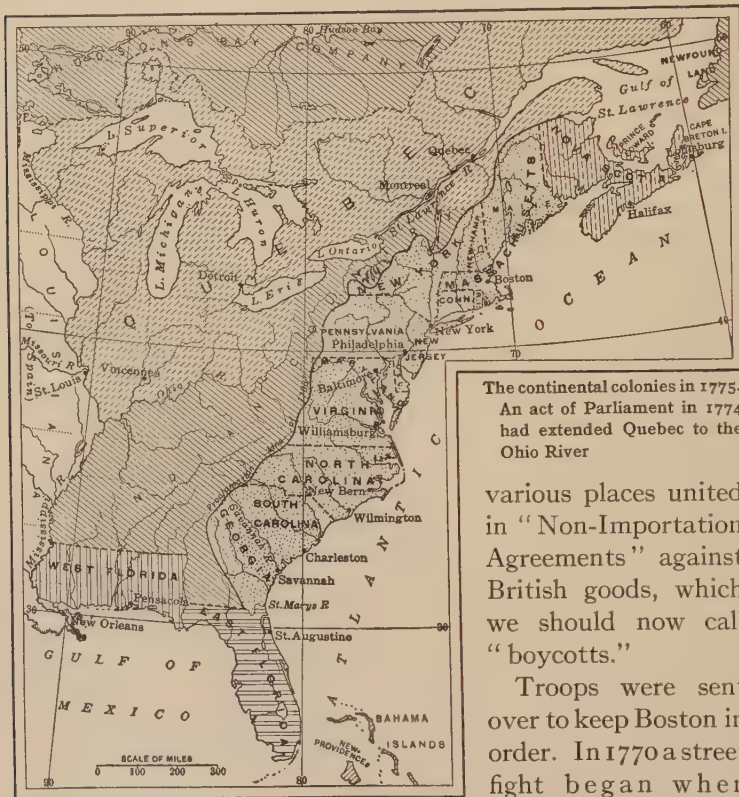
How could the colonists find a way of getting out from under the weight of this new interest in their affairs? James Otis of Massachusetts, Patrick Henry of Virginia, and others declared that Americans were not bound to obey acts of Parliament or orders of the king unless they kept within the Constitution. But nobody was sure just what "the Constitution" meant. Probably their arguments never reached the king and his advisers, but they were widely read in America.

90. Stamp Act Controversy (1765-1767). — The colonists might have yielded to the Acts of Trade, but a new cause of trouble arose when the British government thought it was time for the American colonies to pay part of the expense of the army that was defending the whole empire. In 1765 a Stamp Act was passed by Parliament, requiring the use of British stamps on legal papers, on business documents, and on newspapers in the colonies. The British did not intend to send money away from America to support the home government; nevertheless the colonists at once objected.

Benjamin Franklin, then in England, protested in advance, and throughout the colonies the Stamp Act was denounced in public meetings, speeches, and pamphlets. The favorite form of objection was, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Since the colonists could not conveniently send men to represent them in London, they argued that they could never rightfully be taxed for any purpose by Parliament.

From arguments the colonists soon passed to violence, to riots, and to mobs. The house of Governor Hutchinson in Boston was stormed and looted. Then a Stamp Act Congress was called to meet in New York in 1765. The delegates, representing nine of the colonies, drew up a Declaration of Rights which roundly declared that it was the natural privilege of the Americans to be free from such taxes. This unexpected storm caused Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act (1766), but the next year the Townshend Acts were passed, laying duties on paper, tea, and some other things imported into the colonies.

91. **Beginning of Resistance (1767-1773).** — After the Townshend Acts, there was no more peace in the colonies. As John Dickinson of Pennsylvania wrote in his *Letters from a Farmer*, the colonists felt that "we cannot be free, without being secure in our property." The colonial assemblies began to ask sister colonies to join them in protests, and merchants in



a soldier; several people were killed, and the incident was called the "Boston Massacre." The British taxes were withdrawn, except the trifling one of threepence per pound on tea. But the colonists were not willing to pay even that.

In December, 1773, in the so-called "Boston Tea Party," a crowd of white men disguised as Indians boarded some tea

ships in Boston harbor and threw the cargo overboard. They were acting against the law, but felt that nothing else would rouse the English people to a sense of the determination of the colonists not to pay taxes, no matter how small, to the home government.

92. Drifting into War (1774-1775). — On receiving the news of the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passed acts closing the port of Boston, and suspending the charter of Massachusetts. This brought the whole quarrel to a crisis. One man, Samuel Adams of Boston, believed that the only way out was to break loose from Great Britain. He was a shrewd, hard-headed politician, and he organized Committees of Correspondence to keep the various towns of Massachusetts in touch with each other. Virginia suggested similar committees to correspond between the colonies, and then proposed a general Congress. In response, toward the end of 1774, representatives from twelve colonies met in Philadelphia in what is called the "First Continental Congress." By "Continental" they meant the mainland colonies of North America.



One method of carrying out the boycott against English goods

Like the Stamp Act Congress, this body drew up a Declaration of Rights and an appeal to the king. They insisted that they were willing to accept acts of Parliament for "securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire," but no sort of taxation by Parliament. Before breaking up, the Congress framed what was called the "Act of Association"; this was a general boycott against the importation of any goods from England. Very harsh and violent means were used to carry out this boycott, such as tarring and feathering some of those who bought British goods.

93. Apparent Reasons for Revolution (1775). — Most of the Americans still wanted to remain in the British Empire, but they felt that they could not bear the strain unless the home government gave up every attempt to tax. This was the view of many of the greatest English statesmen, especially of William Pitt (§ 71), who had become Earl of Chatham, and of Charles James Fox, who was the leader in an English movement against the desire of George III “to be a king.” On the king’s side was the prime minister, Lord North, who, by bribery and intimidation, kept together a majority in Parliament to support the king.

The colonists put forward many reasons for their discontent, mostly based on charges that the British government was tyrannical and unjust. The old argument against “taxation without representation” was one of the strongest. A few people were afraid that the English were going to introduce the Episcopal Church into all the colonies and force them to receive bishops.

At this time it was still the popular theory that George III was a good king, but was misled by wicked ministers who gave him bad advice. Later in the Revolution the Americans came to believe that he was a tyrant.

The colonists were always alert to resist the encroachments of tyranny, whether by ministers or by king. Thus in all local matters they had secured and maintained for themselves more freedom and self-government than the people in England. Their industry, moreover, had brought them prosperity. In no other country in the world were the people on the average so well-fed, well-housed, and comfortable; nowhere were taxes so low; nowhere did the people exercise so much control over their own local government.

94. Real Reasons for Revolution (1775). — The real reason for the Revolution was that since the people were more used to free government than the English at home, they looked upon every effort of Parliament to tax them as an effort to deprive them of part of their freedom. If plain Americans could safely vote and hold office, if they could select good representatives to make laws for them and carry on public affairs, why should the home government interfere at all?

Another serious cause of the Revolution was the grievances of the business men. Although the Acts of Trade (§ 80) gave the colonies many advantages, their purpose was to turn the main profit of all the business between the colonies and the home country into the hands of British merchants. Another trouble was that some of the royal governors and military officers in America looked down upon "the provincials," and that did not make the colonists feel more kindly toward the English.

Down to 1775 the Americans were willing to stay in the empire if they could have their own way on the questions that had then arisen. All that they asked was practically the same kind of self-government that Canada now enjoys as a colony in the British Empire.

Some honest men, like Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, thought the colonies ought not to insist on their rights. Others, like Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, were in favor of protesting, and then accepting whatever decision might be made in England. Others, like John Adams and George Washington, became convinced that the only thing to do was to set up a government of their own, even if they had to fight for it. Underneath all was the thought that the colonies could take care of themselves.

95. Benjamin Franklin, an American Gentleman. — One evidence that the Revolution was justified is the fact that the best and ablest men in the colonies believed that their liberty was in danger. When Benjamin Franklin heartily joined in the war, there must have been reason for it. Franklin was the son of a Boston business man; as a boy he betook himself to Philadelphia, which was to be his home for the rest of his life. He was the only American humorous writer of his time, and the only one who was read throughout the colonies.

His most famous work is *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Besides useful information about the moon and tides and eclipses, Franklin crammed his almanac with proverbs and old saws and good advice, such as: "God helps them that help themselves"; "Plow deep while sluggards sleep"; "Never leave that till to-morrow which you can do to-day"; "Honesty is the best policy."

Franklin carried on an excellent newspaper in Philadelphia, and was a general printer and publisher. He was a public-spirited man and raised the great sum of £5000 for a school for poor children, which later developed into the University of Pennsylvania. He founded a public library. He was a



Benjamin Franklin as he entered Philadelphia. Statue at the University of Pennsylvania

member of the city government and of the colonial assembly. While he was abroad he was the official agent in England for several colonies.

Franklin was the shrewdest, most practical man of his time, always trying to improve things. He was a scientific man, the first to prove that lightning is the same thing as electricity made by rubbing amber or glass. He was the essence of homely wisdom and good nature. At the end of his life he published an *Autobiography*, which

is one of the best books of the kind ever written. Franklin was one of the mainstays of the American uprising. While in England he did his best to persuade the British government to yield; when that became hopeless, he came back to America (1775), and threw himself heart and soul into the Revolution.

96. Summary. — This short chapter contains an account of the discontent of the colonies and their quarrels with the home country, leading up to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765 and the First Continental Congress of 1774.

After the French and Indian War the colonists seemed happier and better off than ever before. They belonged to the great British Empire and did not mind that it somewhat limited their trade and controlled their government; but they claimed the right of "no taxation without representation" and the inalienable rights of free Englishmen.

When the British government tried to enforce the Acts of Trade, the colonists protested; when a Stamp Act was passed, laying a tax upon them, they called a Stamp Act Congress (1765). The Stamp Act was withdrawn, but other taxes were laid by Parliament and the colonists again objected; and when all the taxes were withdrawn except one on tea, they still objected, and the Boston Tea Party (1773) was an open defiance of the British government.

The other colonies took alarm and joined in the First Continental Congress (1774), which tried to make England understand that the colonies were determined and would stand together.

The colonists declared that the home country was tyrannical and that the king was led astray by bad advisers, but the real reasons why they finally broke away are deeper. The two main causes are dislike of the Acts of Trade, and the feeling that the colonies were strong enough to govern themselves. In this controversy Benjamin Franklin was a leading spirit, and his belief in the Revolution has always been one of the best reasons for thinking that it was necessary.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 87) 1. What were the British possessions in 1763? 2. What were the British continental colonies in 1763?

(§ 88) 3. What was the British Constitution? 4. How were laws made for the colonies? 5. What sort of governments had the colonies? 6. How was the commerce of the colonies regulated? 7. What did "No taxation without representation" mean? 8. What were the inalienable rights of the colonists?

(§ 89) 9. What kind of king was George III? 10. How did Otis and Henry try to avoid control by the mother country?

(§ 90) 11. What was the Stamp Act? 12. What was the objection to it? 13 (For an essay). Accounts of Stamp Act riots. 14. What was the Stamp Act Congress and what did it do?

(§ 91) 15. What was non-importation? 16. How did the British try to keep the colonies in order? 17 (For an essay). An account of the Boston Tea Party.

(§ 92) 18. How did Samuel Adams organize for the Revolution? 19. Account of the First Continental Congress. 20. What was the Act of Association and how was it enforced?

(§ 93) 21. What were the apparent reasons for the Revolution? 22. What friends had the colonists in Great Britain? 23. What did the colonists think of King George III? 24. What advantages had the colonies under British rule?

(§ 94) 25. What were the real reasons for the Revolution? 26. What kind of government by England would have satisfied the colonists? 27. What were the opinions of the colonists on the Revolution?

(§ 95) 28 (For an essay). Account of the life of Benjamin Franklin. 29 (For an essay). Some good advice taken from *Poor Richard's Almanac*. 30. What services did Franklin render to the colonies? 31. What made Franklin a great man?

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775-1783)

97. Outbreak of War (1775). — No answer was made in England to the appeals of the Continental Congress of 1774. Meanwhile the troubles in Massachusetts grew worse. The towns began to drill their militia, who were called "minute-men" because they were ready to march at a minute's notice. The British governor, General Gage, on the night of April 18, 1775, sent out a force from Boston to seize military stores at Concord, eighteen miles away. An alarm was spread by Paul Revere, who rode ahead in the darkness warning the people along the route.

Early in the morning of April 19, the British reached the village of Lexington, and there saw a line of militiamen drawn up across their road. "Disperse, ye rebels!" cried Major Pitcairn, the British commander; but the raw colonials held their ground. A shot was fired, probably by the English. Then came a volley and several of the colonials fell dead. War had broken out at last. The British column marched on to Concord and destroyed some stores, but was again resisted by the minutemen, and retreated in confusion to Boston, worried and fired upon all the way. The militia of Massachusetts and neighboring states closed in and besieged the British in Boston.

A few days later (May 10, 1775) the Second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia; all the thirteen colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia were represented. None of the other six continental colonies joined in the Revolution. Unless the colonies were willing that the Massachusetts leaders should be treated as traitors by England, Congress must do something at once. Pennsylvania and Virginia, the largest of the middle and the southern colonies, took the lead in support-

ing Massachusetts. The whole Congress joined in voting to raise men, money, and ships. It appointed Colonel George Washington to be general and head of the Continental forces, and sent him to take command of the troops that were besieging the British in Boston. For nearly a year longer Congress hoped that King George would yield, and the Americans still called themselves Englishmen; but all the while the colonists were capturing British posts and ships, and raising an army to defend themselves against their home government.

98. Soldiers of the Revolution.—It looked like a desperate thing for three million colonists to attack eleven million British. They began without a navy, while the British had 270 ships of war. They set out with raw militia to fight against a powerful regular army, though many of the Americans had never seen an enemy other than a wild Indian.

The British government not only raised troops in England, Scotland, and Ireland,

but sent over to Germany and hired about 30,000 Germans, commonly called "Hessians." King Frederick the Great of Prussia scoffed at the little German princes who were willing to sell their subjects to suffer hardship and danger, for a bonus of about \$35 per man — and more if he were killed! Most of the American troops were organized in what was called the "state lines"; that is, state militia regiments enlisted for short terms.

Washington throughout the war protested against depending upon these militiamen. Many served from the purest



Colonial soldiers, wearing Revolutionary uniform

motives of patriotism, but others were drawn into the army by money, bounties, and promises of land. Though personally brave, they disliked discipline and would sometimes leave when their term of service expired, even in the midst of a march against the enemy. Neither the Continental Congress nor the colonies which became states were willing to give Washington what he needed; that is, an army of say 30,000 men, enlisted for several years, responsible only to Congress, well-drilled, and accustomed to obey orders. The result of the militia system was that about 250,000 different men were enlisted, each serving on the average less than one year, besides about 200,000 militia serving for brief periods.

Besides the regular troops, both sides used Indians. They were a poor dependence, because they would not settle down to fight through a campaign, and always wanted to scalp and burn white prisoners. Negroes were enlisted in both armies, particularly in the American, and some slaves were set free, to become soldiers. The British also made use of the loyalists — that is, the colonists who took their side — and formed some of them into regiments. In the South, the loyalists gathered into irregular bands, called “Partisan Rangers.”

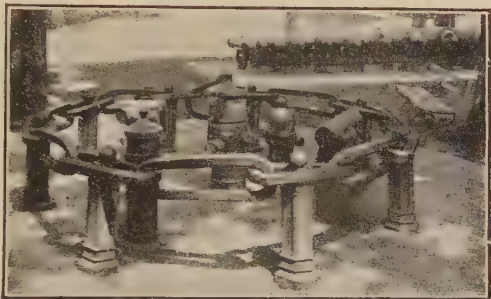
99. War in the North (1775-1776). — Among the many battles, marches, and sieges of the Revolution, only a few can be mentioned in a narrative like this. On June 17, 1775, the “patriots,” as the friends of the Revolution began to be called, built a little fortification near Bunker Hill, from which cannon shot could be dropped into Boston. The British after a hard fight drove them off, but lost a thousand men, and learned for the first time that American militiamen would stand against large bodies of regular troops.

A few days later Washington arrived and took command of the army under or near a tree on Cambridge Common — a tree which is still standing. While the British were besieged in Boston by Washington, Benedict Arnold led a little army through the Maine woods into Canada. He was not able to capture Quebec, and had to retreat. In the spring of 1776 Washington, by his grit and boldness, compelled the British to take to their ships and evacuate Boston. They

never got that city back, though they seized and held Newport and other seaports.

100. War in the Center (1776-1778). — During the next two years most of the fighting was on the Hudson River and on the Delaware. In spite of every effort by Washington, the British captured New York in 1776, and forced him to retreat almost to Philadelphia.

Next year a great effort was made to break the American line in two, by sending an army under General Burgoyne from Canada through Lake Champlain to the Hudson River,



Old links of the chain stretched across the Hudson River below West Point, to prevent British ships from going up the river

while General St. Leger was to attack the Mohawk Valley. The British General Howe sailed with an army from New York around into Chesapeake Bay, defeated the patriots at the Brandywine, and captured Philadelphia.

General Philip Schuyler defended the northern frontier, till Washington sent a force northward under General Gates and Benedict Arnold, who was a dashing soldier. St. Leger was defeated by General Herkimer at Oriskany, and Burgoyne's army, reduced by hard fighting to 5000 men, surrendered at Saratoga. The despised rebels had bagged a British army!

The following winter (1777-1778) was the crisis of the Revolution. Washington kept a little army together at Valley Forge near Philadelphia. Though they had poor huts and were short of food and clothing, the men stood by their country, and in the spring were ready to meet the enemy again.

101. French Alliance and Arnold's Treason (1778-1780). — From the beginning the Americans expected that France would aid the revolting colonies. Agents were sent over to Paris to ask help; the French secretly gave them military

supplies and money, and shut their eyes when some gallant young French officers, especially Marquis de Lafayette and De Kalb, went to America as volunteers. In 1778, after hearing of the capture of Burgoyne's army, the French made a treaty of alliance, and sent over a fleet under Admiral



According to popular notion, Frenchmen were frog-eaters. So when Mr. Nathaniel Tracy of Cambridge entertained Admiral d'Estaing and his officers, he was much surprised at the merriment among his guests when each found a frog in his plate of soup

d'Estaing, and an army to help the Americans. Several Germans also came out to join the army, especially that excellent organizer, von Steuben.

The British fitted out stronger fleets and transferred the war to the South, capturing Savannah and Charleston, and landing an army (1780). In 1780 Benedict Arnold, who was a fine soldier and was designed for high command in the American

army, found himself deeply in debt, and tried to get out of it by selling to the British the post of West Point, which he commanded. The plot failed through the chance capture of the British agent, Major André, who was hanged as a spy. Arnold fled to the British and received a generalship and other rewards, but West Point was saved.

102. The American Navy (1775-1781). — As soon as the war broke out, the states began to commission little vessels of war. These were gradually replaced by what was called the "Continental Navy"; that is, vessels commissioned by Con-

gress as national ships, of which there were eventually 57. The little American squadrons never were big enough to fight a British fleet, but they made cruises, raided the British port of New Providence in the West Indies, and captured many British merchant ships. The first officer placed in command of a squadron was John Barry, an Irishman.



Battle between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*

The naval genius of the war was John Paul Jones, who as commander of the ship *Ranger* landed twice on the coast of the British Islands — the only invasion of Great Britain during the war. After the French alliance of 1778 was formed, Jones was put in command of a former French merchant ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, fitted it out as a ship of war, and dared to attack and capture a forty-four-gun British frigate — the *Serapis*. This was the most mortifying defeat suffered by Great Britain at sea for many years.

Besides the regular ships of war, privateers (§ 85) were fitted out, which sometimes attacked small British ships of war, and in the course of the war captured 800 merchant ships. Part of the value of these ships and cargoes was always divided among the crews as “prize money.” Sometimes the sailors made a

rich haul, as in the case of a boy fourteen years old, who received 1700 silver dollars, 20 pounds of ginger and logwood, 20 pounds of cotton, 30 or 40 gallons of rum, and a ton of sugar. The owners of privateers liked to give them fanciful names, such as *Charming Peggy*, *Black Joke*, *King Taming*.

As in previous wars, this method of sea fighting worked both ways: privateers sailed from British ports and from New York in pursuit of American ships. The vessels of one patriot ship-owner, Nathaniel Tracy, captured 120 ships, but he lost nearly 100 vessels by British captures, and was ruined. Nevertheless, the American privateers kept up their cruises after all the ships of war had been driven from the seas, and their ravages inclined the British to make peace.

103. War in the West (1778-1780).— Besides the main battles already mentioned, the Revolution abounded in brilliant little fights and captures of vessels and forts. The Six Nations of Iroquois Indians made a wrong turn by siding with the British. In revenge, General Sullivan ravaged their country

in 1779, and almost destroyed their power.

When the war broke out, most of the western settlers went back east; but soon another movement of emigrants westward across the mountains began.

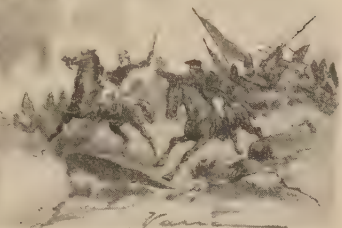


Route of Clark's expedition

In 1778 one of these westerners, George Rogers Clark, got a commission from the governor of Virginia to raise a force against the British, with which he went down the Ohio River. He marched across the country and took the former French settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia (§ 66), not far from St. Louis. Then he enlisted a number of Frenchmen, and marched eastward through a flooded country and took Vincennes (now in Indiana), which was the capital of the district. Clark was not able to capture



Battle of Kings Mountain



Detroit as he had hoped, but he held the southern region till the end of the war.

Still farther south, as many as 10,000 people must have found their way into the Tennessee and upper Kentucky regions, for in 1780 a thousand men from that region crossed the mountains eastward and beat a British force at Kings Mountain. This was the first aid given by the West in the defense of the common country.

104. War in the South and End of the War (1780-1781). —

In the South the whole countryside was in confusion. Loyalists under Tarleton and patriots under Marion harried and fought each other. In 1780 Lord Cornwallis was put in command of a British army which started northward through the Carolinas, expecting to wind up the war by occupying all the South. He was at first successful, defeating General Gates at Camden. General Nathanael Greene was then put in command of the American forces in the South, and Cornwallis was glad to withdraw into Virginia. A British fleet was sent to bring his army away, but was blocked off the Chesapeake by a more powerful French fleet. Meanwhile a combined American and French army, under Washington and



The first meeting of Washington and Lafayette

Rochambeau, marched swiftly southward, joined forces with Lafayette, and trapped Cornwallis at Yorktown. There he was obliged to surrender with his 8000 men (1781).

105. Peace and Independence. — This practically ended the fighting and the Revolution, for the news of this second capture of a British army caused the royal majority in Parliament to dwindle

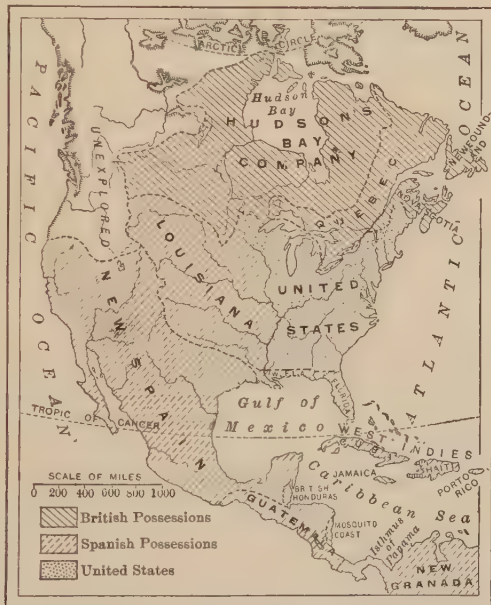
away. King George was obliged to write, "At last the fatal day has come, which the misfortunes of the times and the sudden change of sentiments of the House of Commons have drove me to."

A new British ministry, which was opposed to the American war, at once sent commissioners to Paris, where they negotiated with the American envoys, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. The resulting treaty (1783) was very favorable to the Americans:

(1) The United States was declared to be a free and independent nation.

(2) The northern boundary was fixed at the Great Lakes, and the western at the Mississippi River, so that the Americans received not only George Rogers Clark's conquest, but the rest of the Northwest as far as Lake Superior.

(3) The region south of the Ohio, occupied by western settlers, went to the United States, and everything else east of



North America at the end of the Revolutionary War, 1783

the Mississippi as far south as the parallel of 31° . The United States as thus bounded was more than twice as large as the thirteen colonies together had been in 1775.

106. Summary. — This chapter describes the military side of the Revolutionary War: its outbreak, the troops, and the campaigns by land and sea till the British stopped fighting.

The first conflict of the war was the battle of Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. The other colonies, acting through the Second Continental Congress, stood by Massachusetts and raised a Continental army and navy. The British enlisted their own subjects and thousands of Hessians, and had a great navy. The Americans depended on a poor system of militia enlisted for short terms. Both sides used Indians, and the British enlisted loyalists, so that the Revolution was really a civil war.

The British evacuated Boston in 1776, but captured New York and stayed there till the end of the war, and occupied Philadelphia for a time. The Americans had the worst of it till the capture of Burgoyne's army in 1777 at Saratoga. This led to an alliance with France, which from this time helped the Americans with money, soldiers, and fleets. Arnold's attempt to betray West Point was a failure. The American navy was small, but under John Paul Jones did glorious fighting, and was greatly aided by the privateers and their captures of British merchantmen.

In the West the Iroquois attacked the frontier, and were then themselves crushed. George Rogers Clark captured the British posts north of the Ohio River and held them for Virginia. The British transferred the war to the South, and overran the Carolinas and Virginia. Washington, with the aid of the French, captured the army of Cornwallis at Yorktown (1781), and that ended the war. The opponents of the war in England got control of the government and made a favorable treaty at Paris, by which the boundaries of the United States were broadened to reach the Mississippi.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 97) 1. How did the Revolutionary War begin in New England? 2 (For an essay). The battle of Lexington and Concord. 3. What was the Second Continental Congress? 4. How did it organize for war?

(§ 98) 5. What were the disadvantages of the patriots? 6. How did the British raise troops for the war? 7. How did the Americans raise troops for the war? 8. What other fighting men were there?

(§ 99) 9 (For an essay). The battle of Bunker Hill. 10 (For an essay). George Washington at the siege of Boston. 11. What was the result of the campaigns of 1775-76?

(§ 100) 12. What were the campaigns of 1777-78? 13 (For an essay). The capture of Burgoyne's army. 14 (For an essay). The American army at Valley Forge.

(§ 101) 15. Why did the French ally themselves with the Americans? 16 (For an essay). An account of Lafayette in America. 17 (For an essay). Account of Major André and his plot with Benedict Arnold.

(§ 102) 18. How did the American navy begin? 19. What territory was raided by American ships? 20 (For an essay). The naval exploits of John Paul Jones. 21. How did the privateers aid in the war?

(§ 103) 22. What became of the Six Nations? 23 (For an essay). An account of George Rogers Clark's invasion of the West. 24. How did the westerners serve in the Revolutionary War?

(§ 104) 25. How was the war carried on in the South? 26 (For an essay). Account of the siege and capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

(§ 105) 27. Why did King George III agree to make peace? 28. What were the principal provisions of the peace treaty of 1783? 29. What were the boundaries of the United States by that treaty?

CHAPTER X

INDEPENDENCE AND THE UNION (1775-1781)

107. The People at Home. — We think of the Revolutionary War as if it were all fighting, but on the average there was only one decisive battle a year. Still every colony and every county, town, and village, shared in the hardships and suffering. Most of the men had to be at home, for the war could not go on unless food was produced, and unless taxes were paid to provide for the pay and clothing of the troops and for the materials of war. Yet probably a fourth of the grown white men were in the army, at one time or another.

Everybody was excited about the war. Ministers preached about it; children talked about it. Ladies cared for the sick and wounded, and some of them went with their husbands to the war. Baroness Riedesel, wife of a Hessian general, made the campaign of Burgoyne's army with her children, and during the battle of Saratoga they were obliged to take refuge in a cellar among the wounded and dying. She was greatly relieved, when, after the surrender of the army, the American General Schuyler, as she says, "regaled us with smoked tongues, which were excellent, with beefsteaks, potatoes, fresh butter, and bread. . . . I was easy after many months of anxiety." Mrs. Esther Reed collected \$300,000 in paper money in Philadelphia, and sent it to George Washington, to be given to the soldiers. The women bore their part of the war; and despite their sorrow for lost relatives and friends, they kept up the spirit and courage of the men. A few of them even put on uniforms and fought in the ranks.

Wherever the armies marched, people living along the road flocked to see the soldiers moving on horseback or on foot, the wounded hobbling along or carried in wagons. Troops were often "quartered"; that is, distributed among the houses of

the towns where they were staying overnight. Here and there a young officer fell in love with a daughter of the household where he was quartered, and later returned to marry her.

108. The Loyalists (1775-1782). — Not all the Americans joined heart and soul in the Revolution. John Adams thought that at the beginning at least a third of the Americans were at heart "Tories," as the loyalists were often called. However right and necessary the Revolution was, thousands of good people sincerely loved Great Britain and were loyal to King George. Some of them believed that the British government was the best thing for the colonies.

The loyalists were harshly put down even in colonies like New York and Georgia, where at the beginning they were clearly in the majority. The patriots had the advantage of knowing each other through the Committees of Correspondence; and their informal congresses and conventions passed acts for arresting the loyalists and seizing their property. The General Court of Massachusetts banished 310 heads of families, including many of the best educated and most public-spirited men in the colony.

Thousands were thrown into jail; scores were tarred and feathered; some were killed outright. In Virginia a man named Lynch tied up Tories and whipped them till they promised to become patriots, and that method came to be called "Lynch law." About 30,000 persons in all were compelled to leave their homes, and went to Canada, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, or England. Those who remained were not allowed to take part in public affairs.

109. Supporting the War. — The Americans had little ready money, and the war cut off their profitable trade with England. Yet the country abounded in provisions, and clothing could be made out of wool woven on hand looms. Unfortunately the roads were bad and it was hard to keep the armies supplied. The colonies depended chiefly on France for muskets, pistols, swords, cannons, and uniforms.

The Continental Congress and the states borrowed what little money they could from the people, and borrowed more

from the French and Spanish governments. Both Congress and the states raised most of their funds by issuing paper money. Congress alone put out 250 million dollars in Continental currency.

Paper money that has gold or other valuable things behind it in the vaults of a bank, like our present federal bank notes, is a great convenience. But paper money will surely decline



A Continental paper note

in value till it is worthless, if there is no coin with which to redeem it. During the Revolution the states and the Continental Congress made it a practice to pay salaries and other accounts in paper notes. The people who took them used them to pay dues to their creditors, who would receive the

notes only at a discount. The new holders passed them on at a greater discount; and in the end the notes were worth nothing, so that a barber in Philadelphia papered his shop with Continental money.

All classes, religions, and races took part in the war. The richest northern merchants, such as John Hancock and Robert Morris, and the richest southern planters, such as the Randolphs of Virginia and the Pinckneys of South Carolina, joined in the war. New England Congregationalists, Pennsylvania Presbyterians, Maryland Catholics, and Virginia Episcopalians were all staunch patriots. Germans, Irish, Scotch-Irish, French, Dutch, Negroes, and Englishmen stood side by side in the ranks.

110. Change from Colonies to States (1775-1780). — While the military revolution was going on, every colony was passing through another kind of revolution by making a new government. The governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island were chosen by the voters, and they sympathized with the Revolu-

tion. Most of the eleven royal governors tried to stop the movement. The patriots were too strong for them, and in the end the governors had to run away from their own former colonies. When the governors were out, the old colonial governments simply collapsed.

The patriots at once set up Committees of Safety in towns, counties, and colonies. They arranged for informal elections to colonial congresses or conventions; and these hastily chosen bodies took on themselves the right to pass laws, to lay taxes, to raise soldiers, to suppress loyalists, and to send delegates to the Continental Congress.

For about a year there was still hope that England would yield and that the old governments could again be formed. Finally the patriot congress of New Hampshire drew up (January, 1776) a document describing a new form of government with an elective governor. This was not a colonial charter, but a brief constitution for a state. It gave up the old loyalty to England. It set up a new kind of government, which sprang from the people of New Hampshire.

This example was followed by all the other colonies, one after another. Connecticut and Rhode Island had simply to make small changes in their old popular charters. After July, 1776, all the former colonies called themselves "states," and their legislatures or conventions framed a constitution for each one. Pennsylvania held a special convention (1776), of which Benjamin Franklin was president; it drew up and put in force the first constitution of that state. Several groups of people in the far West also tried to form little states. Vermont, which had been a part of New York, set up a state government (1777), but was not admitted to Congress. The last state to form a new government was Massachusetts (1780). In that state a new way of making a constitution was invented: a special convention drew up the document; it was then submitted to the direct vote of the people; when they approved of the constitution, it went into force. Parts of it are still in force.

111. Spirit of Independence (1775). — The Second Continental Congress at first (May, 1775) took the ground that the

war was intended only to call the British people to their senses; and that the Americans were still loyal to the real principles of the British government. Several public men, however, especially Patrick Henry of Virginia and Samuel Adams (§ 92), had other notions, and expected to break loose from England.

During 1775 it became a custom to hold patriotic meetings in various parts of the country, which passed resolutions urging people to stand fast against aggression by the British. Among these gatherings was a committee commonly called the "Mecklenburg Convention," which met at Charlotte, North Carolina, in May, 1775. One set of resolutions supposed to be passed by this convention was published at this time, and another about forty years later. It is still uncertain how far the patriots of Mecklenburg County went in urging that the colonies withdraw from the British Empire; but there is no doubt that they were much aroused and that their action gave comfort to the friends of independence.

112. Independence Adopted (July 4, 1776). — When the British in the spring of 1776 prepared a fleet and army to put down the Revolution, it was clear that the colonies must either submit or break away altogether. In June a committee was appointed to draw up a declaration of independence, and the task of writing the document was given to Thomas Jefferson, a young delegate to Congress from Virginia.

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration was adopted by Congress, which was then sitting in the State House of Pennsylvania, now called Independence Hall. The signatures, which are familiar to American boys and girls, were not all added till several weeks later. Nevertheless, July 4, 1776 has been looked on as the birthday of the United States. John Adams wrote that the Declaration would in later times be celebrated "with pomp, shows, games, sports, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other."

If this famous document (*See Appendix*) is read carefully, it will be seen to include four principal political ideas:

(1) Americans are possessed of natural rights: for instance, "all men are created equal . . . with certain unalienable

Rights (§ 88), that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." — Clearly a denial of those rights would be an oppression of the colonists.

(2) Americans hold a "compact" with the king, under which the people have a right to change their government when they think it a bad thing for them. — That is, they have a right to start a revolution.

(3) The king of Great Britain has forfeited his right to govern on account of twenty-seven different oppressive acts. — That is, there are good reasons for a revolution.

(4) "These United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States." — That is, the colonists have revolted, and are no longer British.

Because of its ringing statement of the basic principles of free government, the Declaration of Independence is accepted by all Americans and by many people in other parts of the world as a great summary of human rights.

113. Spirit of Union (1775-1777). — Though the Declaration of Independence was a great and noble document, that part of it which declared the United States to be free and independent could come true only if the people and the governments of the new states should win in the Revolutionary War. For that end they knew that they must all stand together. They knew that there must be one army and one navy, one commander in chief and one Congress. Then why not one government? Realizing this need of union, a committee of



Independence Hall, Philadelphia

Congress, a few days after the Declaration was adopted, reported the Articles of Confederation. This was a form of government intended to govern all the people of the United States in a permanent federal union.

In many ways the colonies had always been one people. Nearly all of them practiced the same religion, spoke the same language, and were accustomed to much the same laws, trade, and customs. They had fought alongside each other in four previous wars (§§ 67-71). They had acted together in the Albany Congress, the Stamp Act Congress, and the First Continental Congress (§§ 70, 90, 92).

They were used to a government outside their own boundaries which carried on war for them, made treaties for them, and regulated their trade. Then what was to prevent their setting up some sort of federal government which would do the same things for them, while leaving each state free to govern itself in local matters?

114. Articles of Confederation (1775-1781). — The wise Benjamin Franklin had already submitted to Congress a set of Articles of Confederation based in part on the old New England Confederation of 1643 (§ 36). The committee used Franklin's draft, and added many other things. It was soon evident that however much the people desired a union, they did not feel the need of a strong union. Yet a national constitution could not be made unless the states should part with some of the authority that they would otherwise enjoy.

So the debates on the Articles of Confederation dragged along for many months during 1776 and 1777, while Washington's army was defeated at New York, and Congress was driven out of Philadelphia. Not till after Burgoyne's army was captured (§ 100) did Congress pluck up courage to complete the form of union. In November, 1777, it finished framing the Articles, and sent them out to the states. Congress could not make a constitution; it could only draw up one which should go into force when ratified by the thirteen state legislatures.

Congress had delayed for months. The states delayed for years; and till the legislature in every one of the thirteen states voted to put the Articles into effect, they were nothing but a

piece of paper. The states were jealous of one another, especially because seven of them claimed for themselves the territory west of the mountains. The country grew tired of Congress, and Congress grew tired of itself. Not till 1781 did Virginia make an offer to yield her western claims, which induced the last state, Maryland, to sign the Articles. Thus was finally completed the first written constitution of that nation which was called the United States of America.

Then and ever since, critics have found fault with the Articles of Confederation because they made Congress too weak to take care of national affairs. After all, they provided the strongest and best federal government that the world had ever known, and their many faults proved to the people the strong need of a better government on the same lines. They proved to be a school for statesmen. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, all later Presidents of the United States, were active members of the Congress. On the whole, the country has reason to be proud of the Articles of Confederation.

115. What is a Constitution? — The state constitutions, the Declaration of Independence, and the Articles of Confederation are of great importance to us to-day, because they contain the principles that we now apply to our present state and national governments. Among these great principles are the following:

(1) A written constitution is a "fundamental law" which cannot be altered by an ordinary law of a legislature or Congress. There are now forty-eight such constitutions in the states of the Union, besides the federal Constitution.

(2) The old doctrine of "natural rights" or "fundamental rights" or "unalienable rights" was claimed again in the Declaration of Independence (§ 112), and enlarged and stated in detail in the "bills of rights" which were added to the state constitutions. They included such statements as the following: "All men are by nature equally free and independent." "All elections ought to be free." "The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty." "A man hath a right to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of twelve men."

(3) The Americans wanted a popular government, in which there should be no king, no nobles, no privileged classes. At that time nobody could vote unless he owned land or other property, but the idea of political equality soon led to a widening of the suffrage.

116. The Higher Law. — Another idea, which has been very important, was that in every state there were two kinds of law, a higher and a lower. The higher law was the written constitution of the state. The lower law was made up of ordinary statutes passed by legislatures and county, city, or local governments. Since the higher law was made in a different way from the ordinary law, and could be changed only by a different and more difficult method, there could be no such thing as a lower law that disagreed with the higher. If a legislature passed a bill, or a governor made an appointment, or a court laid down a decision that was contrary to the higher law of the constitution, then it was just as if the bill, appointment, or decision had not been made at all. The fundamental law must always come first and be higher than any other.

This is not an easy matter to understand; but every school child knows that the decision of a school board is higher than that of the principal of a school, and that an act of the state legislature is higher than a vote of the school board. And people often talk about this or that act of the legislature as being "unconstitutional."

Some of the new laws passed nowadays about labor, criminals, corporations, trusts, trolley lines, and railroads are held unconstitutional because they are considered to be overruled by this higher law of the written constitution.

117. Summary. — This chapter describes the life of the people during the Revolution and the way in which they created state governments, declared their independence, and made Articles of Confederation which for a time were the written constitution of the nation.

The Revolution was a period of change and excitement all through the country. The soldiers, and also the men, women, and children of all races and religions who remained at home,

shared in the losses and sufferings. Loyalists, who were at first about a third of the thinking people, were silenced by argument or by violence. This left the patriots in control of the situation. They raised supplies for the troops, borrowed what money they could, and both Congress and the states put out quantities of paper money. Men of all races, classes, and religions took part in the war.

When the royal governors had to flee, informal colonial congresses were set up which made new forms of government for the colonies or states (as they were called after July, 1776).

For a year after the breaking out of war, independence was suggested by some local conventions, but the question was avoided by Congress. Then, on July 4, 1776, Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson, which declared the former colonies to be "Free and Independent States."

At the same time another committee began to draw up Articles of Confederation, which were not adopted by all the states till 1781. Though rather a weak form of government they contain the idea of the fundamental law or the higher law, which is that a constitution should be drawn up more thoughtfully and more carefully than other laws, and must contain the principles under which other laws can be made.

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QUESTIONS ·

(§ 107) 1. How did people live during the Revolutionary War? 2. What did women do in the war? 3 (For an essay). Account of home life somewhere in America during the war.

(§ 108) 4. Who were the loyalists? 5. How were they treated?

(§ 109) 6. Where did the army get its supplies during the war? 7. How did Congress and the states raise funds? 8. Why was paper money disliked? 9. What kind of people took part in the war?

(§ 110) 10. What became of the colonial governments when the Revolution broke out? 11. What were the Committees of Safety and what did they do? 12. What was the first state constitution? 13. How were the state constitutions made?

(§ 111) 14. When did the idea of independence first appear? 15. What was the Mecklenburg Convention?

(§ 112) 16. Why did the colonists resolve on independence? 17 (For an essay). Account of the writing and adoption of the Declaration of Independence. 18. What are the principal statements of the Declaration of Independence?

(§ 113) 19. Why did the people of the United States need one government? 20. What made it easy to form a national government?

(§ 114) 21. Where did people get the idea of Articles of Confederation? 22. How were the Articles prepared? 23. How were they ratified? 24. What were their advantages?

(§ 115) 25. What are the three essentials of American free government? 26. What is a fundamental law? 27. What are natural rights? 28. What is popular government?

(§ 116) 29. What is the higher law? 30. What is the difference between a constitution and a statute? 31. What happens if a statute is not in accordance with a constitution?

CHAPTER XI

THE OLD ROOF AND THE NEW ROOF (1781-1789)

118. Peace and Happiness. — If ever the American people had reason to be happy, it was at the end of the Revolutionary War. They had their independence, their new-made state governments, their Union, and a federal constitution the weakness of which was not yet understood. They could carry on their own trade free from the English Navigation Acts (§ 80). They had a larger degree of comfort and well-being and personal freedom than any other people in the world. They were provided with schools and newspapers and books. They had complete religious freedom. Their country abounded in good land and valuable timber and rich ores. Who could be more free and happy?

119. Business Difficulties (1782-1788). — On the other side of the account must be placed the losses of the war. For about seven years all direct traffic with England had been cut off. Hundreds of the vessels that traded with France and other countries had been captured by the British. Some parts of the country, especially South Carolina and Virginia, had been ravaged by armies, and large amounts of property had been destroyed. Thousands of slaves had run away. Ordinary trade and work had been upset by sending so many men to serve in the army. Thousands of men whose labor would have helped to restore their country were dead or wounded, and thousands of loyalists were in exile (§ 108).

While the war lasted it was hard to collect debts, even from people who had means. As soon as it was over, creditors began to bring suits; and under the treaty of peace British merchants tried to collect about ten million dollars which were due them from American merchants when the war broke out. The laws of debt at that time were very harsh. Even honest

men, who expected to pay but had not the money at hand, might be sent to prison and kept there indefinitely.

Nevertheless the country was really prosperous, as is shown by the rapid growth of population and by the settlement of the land. People went on steadily building ships, putting up houses, clearing woodland, enlarging the towns, and improving harbors. Insurance companies flourished, and for the first time banks were founded, one each in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The country seemed poor because immediately after the war the merchants bought large quantities of British goods and took a long time to pay for them.

One of the objects of Congress was to secure good trade relations with both Europe and the West Indies. It was, therefore, a hard blow when England announced (1783) that all the trade from the United States to the British colonies must be carried in British vessels. This cut off the profitable traffic in their own vessels that the colonists enjoyed before the Revolution. The British would not give way; their point was that if the United States wanted to be independent, it must expect to be treated like other nations and be shut out by the Acts of Trade from carrying goods to and from the remaining British colonies, especially the West Indies.

120. Debts and Taxes (1782-1788). — One thing that disturbed the Americans was the need of taxes to pay interest on their public debts. The poor workmen and struggling farmers felt the burden of such taxes more than any one else. To help them out, some of the states passed "Stay and Tender" laws, to postpone the payment of private debts. Half the states tried to avoid taxes and make money easy by floating a second issue of paper money, most of which was never redeemed.

The pressure was so great that riots occurred and threats of revolution were made in several parts of the country. Massachusetts was a well-to-do and intelligent state, but in 1786 discontented people came together at the county seats on the days when the courts were to sit, and prevented the judges from hearing any suits for the collection of debts. Old General Artemas Ward, when they tried to shut up his court, said, "I

will sit as a judge or die as a general." Then Captain Daniel Shays got together a force of armed men and tried to break up the state government. The whole country was alarmed, and the rising, commonly called the "Shays Rebellion," was put down with great difficulty by state troops (1787). It looked as if the Union might be broken up by these men whom we should now call anarchists.



The United States, 1776-1789, showing state claims to western lands

121. Western Claims (1775-1802). — The main reason for the delay in ratifying the Articles of Confederation (§ 114) was that four of the southern states — Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia — laid claim to strips of territory stretching west from their former boundaries, as far

as the Mississippi. North of the Ohio River, Virginia also claimed George Rogers Clark's conquest, and everything else in the Northwest. This would have allowed one state to occupy a third of the whole area of the Union; and it stirred up New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to lay claim to parts of the same area.

The other six states had nothing to claim in the West; and therefore their delegates in Congress insisted that the western lands belonged to the whole Union and should not be claimed by a part of the states. Congress therefore voted (1780) that any land that the states might give up should be used to pay the national debt, and also that settlers who might go into the western country should in the course of time form new states which would be admitted to the Union.

With this understanding, the deadlock was broken, and the states with western claims one after another yielded them to Congress, in whole or in part. Connecticut kept control of the Western Reserve, a strip 120 miles long on the south side of Lake Erie, for fourteen years; during which she sold or gave away the land there. Virginia kept Kentucky, besides issuing grants for a block of "military bounty lands" north of the Ohio. North Carolina issued grants for most of the land in Tennessee before giving up control of that region. Georgia likewise made large grants of western lands before she accepted her present boundaries. With these exceptions, the western lands were turned over to the federal government, and formed the earliest public lands of the United States.

122. Western Governments (1784-1788). — The Congress of the Confederation, wishing to encourage the states to make these cessions, and hoping to open up the country to newcomers, passed three notable measures: (1) Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, which promised a simple kind of government to the western settlers; (2) Grayson's Ordinance of 1785, which provided for the surveying of the western lands in townships six miles square; (3) the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which was a kind of colonial charter. It set up a new Northwest Territory, which included the whole region north of the Ohio River, from the state of Pennsylvania west to the Mississippi.

By this Northwest Ordinance, Congress was to provide a temporary government until enough people should arrive to elect a territorial legislature with power to pass local laws. Part of the Ordinance was a set of Articles of Compact, which forbade slavery in the territory, and promised that the people who might come into the territory should have liberty, freedom of religion, and public education.

At the same time when this Ordinance was passed, a tract of nearly a million acres of land was sold to the Ohio Company, which was composed principally of Revolutionary officers from New England. In 1788 the first immigrants under this company, headed by Rufus Putnam, crossed the country from eastern Massachusetts to the Ohio River, where they built the town of Marietta. A little later another company settled the Symmes Purchase, containing the town of Cincinnati. Connecticut settlers soon came into the Western Reserve. At the same time, southern settlers were pouring by thousands across the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee. Thus the West was preparing to claim the promised right to become a part of the union of states.



Land purchases and reserves in Ohio, 1800

123. Lessons of the Confederation (1781-1788).— Within five years from its organization, the Confederation seemed on the point of breaking down. England kept possession of Oswego, Niagara, Mackinac, and other posts or forts on the American side of the boundary fixed by the treaty of 1783, and would make no commercial treaty. Congress could get hardly enough money together for the small expenses of the national government, including the pay of a few hundred soldiers.

Another cause of division among the states came through the movement to emancipate the slaves. Between 1777 and 1787 laws were passed in the following states and territories by which the slaves were to be set free immediately, or after a few years: (a) the four New England states; (b) Vermont (not yet admitted to the Union); (c) Pennsylvania; (d) the Northwest Territory (§ 122). Not long before the Revolution two surveyors, named Mason and Dixon, surveyed and marked the southern boundary of Pennsylvania (map, page 66). After the slaves were emancipated in the rest of the northern states, that line became the division between the free and the slave-holding states. The area lying south of it was later in sport called "Dixie," or "Dixie's Land."

Because of troubles like the Shays Rebellion (§ 120), Washington thought the Union was in danger, and wrote to his friends that the Articles of Confederation were a "rope of sand." "If no change comes about," said he, "our downfall is as plain as A B C." In vain did Congress call upon the states to give it power to raise money by taxing imported goods. Such an amendment to the Articles required unanimous consent, and nothing would induce all thirteen of the states to agree to anything. Therefore Congress, reluctantly following the suggestion made by a meeting called the "Annapolis Convention" (1786), asked the states to send delegates to a constitutional convention to be held in Philadelphia in 1787.

124. Sessions of the Constitutional Convention (1787). — To get the convention together was a hard task. Eleven state legislatures soon appointed their delegates; but New Hampshire acted slowly, and her delegates did not appear until the convention was half over. Rhode Island sent nobody at all. Some of the delegates did not attend; others, including two of the three delegates from New York, lost their tempers and went home after a few weeks. Out of the fifty-five different men who actually sat in the convention, only thirty-nine members, representing twelve states, were willing at the end to affix their signatures to the document drawn up by the convention.

The convention met May 25, 1787. George Washington, delegate from Virginia, was at once made president. Though he said little during the sessions, his presence gave confidence



The Constitutional Convention in session, with Washington as presiding officer

to the American people. The convention sat privately without spectators or reporters; for this reason some recent writers have said that it was ashamed to state its principles in public. In fact we know very nearly what went on, because James Madison and several other members took notes which have since been printed.

The character of its leaders proves that the convention was an able and upright body. Eight of the members had been signers of the Declaration of Independence, including Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin was a member, though too old to make set speeches. Alexander Hamilton of New York was one of the most brilliant men in the convention; he would have liked a

more centralized national constitution than the one that was adopted. The strongest force in the convention was the Virginia delegation, and in that delegation the most active man was James Madison. He prepared beforehand a sort of sketch called the "Virginia Plan," which was the groundwork of the Constitution as finally adopted.

125. Compromises of the Convention (1787). — Congress expected that the old Articles would be patched up; but the convention began immediately to construct a new sort of constitution. Yet how could any document be made to suit at the same time small states and large states? the trading and the farming communities? the slaveholders and the non-slaveholders? Three times the convention was in a deadlock; and every time an agreement was reached by each side's yielding something, until a compromise was reached:

(1) The small states wanted what they had had in the Confederation, an equal vote with the large states. By the Connecticut Compromise they were given an equal vote in the new Senate of the United States; but all the states were to send members to a new House of Representatives in proportion to their population.

(2) The northern ship-building and ship-owning states wanted the future government to have the power to make laws in aid of American shipping. The planting states, which were mostly southern and built very few ships, strongly objected; but finally they gave way on condition that the slave trade should not be prohibited for twenty years.

(3) Great difficulty arose on the question of the relation of the new government to slavery. Washington, Madison, and other Virginians hoped that their state would soon give up the system of slavery, but nobody proposed in the convention that the federal government should prohibit slavery. The trouble arose over the question whether slaves should be counted as people. The South insisted that the slaves, although they could not vote, ought to be counted as population when the members of the House were assigned to the states. Northern men objected to this but insisted that they should be counted in apportioning taxes to the states. This

dispute was settled by a compromise under which it was agreed that both for taxes and in making up the basis for the members of the lower house, slaves should be counted at the "federal ratio"; namely, at three fifths of their real number.

126. Origin of the Constitution. — Some people have thought that the "Fathers of the Constitution," who drew it up, simply used their own judgment and knowledge of previous federal governments, choosing what would be best. The history of previous federations was of little service, for those in Europe were then dying out. What the Fathers of the Constitution really did was to draw on their own personal experience. Hardly anything can be found in the Constitution which had not already been tried in the colonies, the states, or the Confederation. The members of the convention proposed and voted for things that they had seen work well at home.

That is why the Constitution has lasted for many years. It is made up of ideas that had already actually worked, put together by wise men who had the sense to see that if they wanted a government to live, they must give it plenty of power.

127. Form of the Constitution (1787). — After the convention settled the difficult points, a committee was appointed to write out the document. Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania is supposed to have furnished the clear language for which it is remarkable. Without going into details, the following principles of the Constitution should be noticed:

(1) The new document was a fundamental law, much fuller, clearer, and stronger than the Articles of Confederation. It provided a much better machinery of government in its Congress of two houses, its independent President, and its United States courts.

(2) The Constitution at first lacked a bill of rights, but that was supplied by ten amendments adopted soon after it went into effect.

(3) The Constitution furnished a national popular government. From the first, the members of the lower house of Congress came into office through the direct choice of the

voters. The Senators were (until 1913) elected by the state legislatures. The President was chosen by electors who were elected either by the legislatures or by the people; but after some years the latter mode of election was adopted in all the states.

(4) The Constitution declared that it was the "supreme law of the land"; that is, a higher law, above state laws or constitutions, and also above all acts of Congress which did not agree with it.

(5) The place of the states in the Union was much more clearly stated than in the old Articles, and the whole framework of the government was so arranged as to give the new federal government a chance to do its work without interfering with the states.

128. Ratification of the Constitution (1787-1790). — The members of the convention never thought that they could put their work into effect themselves; they simply drew it up for the states to act upon. On September 17, 1787, they sent it out, wisely demanding that a special convention in each state meet for the purpose of considering and ratifying the proposed document. Even then the hard work of the convention came near failing, because so many states were inclined to hold back. Anybody could see that if the new Constitution should go through, the states were bound to be less powerful than before, and the Union more powerful.

The best argument in favor of a new Constitution was, that it was the only thing that would make the Union strong enough to be permanent. A back-country farmer member of one of the conventions discussed the argument in favor of the Constitution thus: "I don't think the worse of the Constitution, because lawyers and men of learning and moneyed men are fond of it. I don't suspect that they want to get into Congress and abuse their power. . . . Now is the time to reap the fruit of our labor, and if we don't do it now I am afraid we shall never have another opportunity."

The ratification by nine states was necessary for the establishment of the Constitution. In eight states (Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Maryland,

South Carolina, New Hampshire) this ratification was easy. There was a hard struggle in the three large states of Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York; and no union could expect to succeed from which any one of these was left out. The very fear of failure carried the Constitution through. By narrow majorities, in the teeth of opposition, the Constitution was ratified in those three states; so that eleven of the thirteen states at once came under what people called "The New Roof." North Carolina and Rhode Island followed in 1789 and 1790.

While the state conventions were being held, the argument was brought against the Constitution that its friends wanted to set up a centralized government. They replied that on the contrary they were Federalists in favor of a federal form of government. Madison, Hamilton, and others joined in a series of articles, called *The Federalist*, in a New York newspaper, defending the Constitution. The opponents then took the name of Anti-Federalists, as the best that they could find.

129. Summary. — The main subject of this chapter is the weakness of the Confederation, and the work of the federal convention which was called to make the new Constitution, in order to avoid the mistakes of the old one.

After the Revolutionary War, the American people seemed ready for peace, happiness, and profit, but the war had caused many losses and left behind it many heavy burdens of public and private debt. Still, the country was doing well, even though Great Britain did not grant favorable conditions of trade.

Seven of the thirteen states laid claim to parts of the territory west of the mountains, but cessions to Congress wiped out nearly all these rival claims. Then Congress, by the Northwest Ordinance (1787), provided the first actual territorial government. Emigrants from the East at once poured into the Northwest Territory, as they were already pouring into Kentucky and Tennessee.

The Confederation was hampered by the fact that the British still held some of the northern posts, and by the fact that the states were divided in sentiment over slavery. Some of the states set the slaves free. Congress could not raise

money enough for national needs, and public sentiment demanded a constitutional convention.

The convention met in 1787 and was made up of the ablest men in the country. They steered the assembly through its difficulties by suggesting compromises that could be accepted by both sides. They founded the new Constitution on their experience in colonies, states, and the Confederation. They made the Constitution a fundamental law, protecting the rights of man, including popular government, and providing a "higher law" than the acts of Congress or of the states.

To get the necessary ratification of nine states was difficult. Some people thought the Constitution gave too much power to a centralized government; others wanted it because it would preserve the rights of the minority. It was soon ratified by eleven states and thus became the Constitution of the nation.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 118) 1. What was there to make the American people happy after the Revolution?

(§ 119) 2. What property losses were caused by the Revolution? 3. Why was there trouble about debts? 4. How do we know that the country was prosperous? 5. How did England treat American trade to British colonies?

(§ 120) 6. What were the "Stay and Tender" laws? 7. What did people do to relieve themselves from distress? 8. What was the Shays Rebellion?

(§ 121) 9. What were the western state claims? 10. What did Congress promise with regard to the western lands? 11. How were the state claims settled?

(§ 122) 12. How did Congress organize the western territories? 13. What was the Northwest Ordinance? 14. How did people prepare to occupy the West? 15 (For an essay). Account of the settlement by the Ohio Company.

(§ 123) 16. Why did the Confederation come near breaking down? 17. How did the abolition of slavery begin? 18. What was Mason and Dixon's line? 19. What did Washington think of the Confederation? 20. What was the Annapolis Convention?

(§ 124) 21. How was the Constitutional Convention formed? 22. How did it carry on its business? 23. What sort of men were members? 24 (For an essay). An account of life inside the convention.

(§ 125) 25. What were the three great compromises of the convention? 26. What was the compromise about the two houses of Congress? 27. What was the compromise about shipping? 28. What was the compromise about slavery?

(§ 126) 29. Where did the framers of the Constitution find their ideas?

(§ 127) 30. What are the most important principles of the Constitution?

(§ 128) 31. How was the Constitution ratified? 32. Why was it ratified? 33. Who were the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists? 34 (For an essay). Account of the proceedings in a ratifying convention.

CHAPTER XII

HOW PEOPLE LIVED A CENTURY AGO (1790-1820)

130. Numbers and Races. — The first federal census, taken in 1790, showed a total number reported of 3,930,000 civilized people. Of these, about a fifth (760,000) were negroes. In addition about 80,000 Indians were known to live east of the Mississippi.

Only about three per cent of the people lived in towns, the largest of which were the seaports of Philadelphia with 42,000 people, New York with 33,000, Boston with 18,000, Charleston with 16,000, and Baltimore with 14,000. All these places were still hardly better than big, overgrown villages, badly paved, lighted, and policed. About half the Americans lived in the North and about half lived south of Mason and Dixon's line (§ 123).

The only way to find what races composed the white population is to examine the family names; and they show that about five sixths were descended from English ancestors; one twelfth were Scotch, Scotch-Irish, and Irish, most of whom spoke English; about a twentieth were Germans; and about a fiftieth were Dutch. The records also include a few French and Spanish names and a few hundred Jewish names. Most of the Scotch-Irish lived in the four states of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. Pennsylvania was the only state in which the non-English element was as large in proportion as it is to-day.

The census brought out many droll family names, such as Toughman, Pettyfool, Goodfellow, Fryover, Moonshine, Spitznoggle, and Witchwagon. Some of the combinations of names are very amusing, such as Sarah Simpers, William Sorrows, River Jordan, Jemima Crysick, History Gott, Noble Gun, Sillah Jester, Joseph Came, and Chrysty Forgott.

Families were usually larger than nowadays. On the average there were three children to every white family, as against an average of one and a half to-day. Out of 560,000 families, perhaps 60,000 held slaves, mostly in the South; this number includes a few negro families that owned negroes.

131. American Character.

— Although the Americans had gained their independence in government, they were still under English leadership in their trade, literature, and religion. They liked English goods and



A picture from *The Looking Glass for the Mind*, a child's book, published about 1780. This shows both the simple and the elaborate dress of little girls

English ways of doing business, and bought most of their imports from Great Britain. They read English books and magazines. A few writers tried to follow the English fashions in literary style, set at that time by men like Dr. Samuel Johnson of London, and many of the early newspaper men were English. It was easier to follow the lead of the old country in such matters than to invent new methods on American soil.

Americans at that time were in favor of the equality of all people, in theory; but in most of the states they recognized the social superiority of certain families of wealth and social prestige. Examples of such families were the Rutledges of South Carolina, the Carters of Virginia, the Clintons of New York, the Huntingtons of Connecticut, and the Quincys of Massachusetts. Men from such families were more likely to be elected to office than any others.

The plain farmers, workmen, and sailors were then often called "the lower classes"; but they were far above the ordinary workmen and farmers of the time in England and Germany. They lived better, and any American family that was sober

and hard-working could open up new land and in time own a good farm. More of the people could read and write than in England. As Benjamin Franklin put it, "Persons of moderate fortune and capital, who having a number of children to



Emily Marshall (1807-1836). Such was the fame of this Boston beauty, that the entire audience arose when she entered the theater and crowds gathered to admire wherever she appeared

provide for, are desirous of bringing them up in industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunity for doing it in America, which Europe does not afford."

Such sturdy and independent people were ready to move from place to place, and settle on the frontier. Many such settlers liked the rude life so well that as fast as neighbors came near them, they started westward again. In the older and newer regions people relied on themselves and governed themselves, in a way little known in the Old World.

132. Country Life. — Since nine tenths of all the people lived on farms and plantations, country life is typical of that time.

(1) Country gentlemen, such as George Washington, built handsome houses, and furnished them with beautiful mahogany, with silver, with pictures and a library; and they had servants or slaves to wait on them. Thomas Jefferson, also, was a gentleman farmer, who liked to invent new plows and tried to improve the tillage of the land. Such people visited back and forth with their friends, and held races and balls; and the young folks frolicked about much as young people do nowadays.

(2) The smaller landowning planters, of whom there were a few in Rhode Island, the Hudson Valley, and Pennsylvania,

and thousands in the South, were not so much farmers as overseers. Most of their life was spent in laying out work for their slaves, whether men, women, or half-grown children, and in seeing that they did their tasks.

(3) Quite another kind of farmer was the man who followed the plow, and with his children did the hard work of the farm—clearing the land, burning piles of brush, milking, caring for the cattle, weeding and reaping the crops, husking the corn, and threshing the grain. Most such farmers, north and south, owned their own land, and few of them could afford to hire farm laborers. Few read newspapers or books or made visits to any place



Boys played marbles in much the same way that boys of to-day play the game

larger than a county seat. Few saw visitors, and they never dreamed of telephones or trolley cars or automobiles. The chief events for man, woman, and child were Sunday services, election days, and training days, when the militia was drilled.

In the North, where there were plenty of cattle, fresh and salt beef was abundant. In the South game and poultry formed a part of the diet; but the principal meat was bacon, ham, and salt pork; for pigs ran half wild in the woods and the roads, until ready to become food.

133. Labor.—A few skilled laborers, such as saddle and harness makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights and wagonwrights, masons and plasterers, were employed in local work. Many skilled men were employed as shipbuilders and sailors. The old-fashioned indentured servants and redemptioners (§ 77) had almost disappeared, and in the South many of the skilled hands were negroes.

The usual way of learning a trade was by apprenticeship. By this system a boy would be turned over to a master for a

term of about seven years. He lived usually in the house of the master, who was expected to clothe him and teach him his trade. Many children, both boys and girls, whose parents were dead or could not support them, were "bound out," on about the same conditions, to farmers or townspeople.

Slave labor was still widely used. In 1790, 40,000 slaves were held in the northern states and 660,000 in the southern states. In neither section at that time was slavery profitable,

for it cost about as much to feed and clothe a slave as could be made out of his labor.

About 60,000 of the negroes were free; some because they had fought for their country in the Revolution (§ 98). When free, they could acquire property, and in several states could vote, just as in colonial times (§ 79). Some southern statesmen looked forward to the freeing of all the negroes. Jefferson, himself a slaveholder, wrote on slavery in his *Notes on Virginia*: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice



An illustration from *Youthful Sports*, showing little girls at play

cannot sleep forever." Yet there is reason to believe that the negroes were at that time better treated than later, and that those who became free had a better chance of doing well for themselves.

In the North, except in Pennsylvania, it was uncommon for any women except negroes to work in the fields; though a traveler who passed through Wethersfield, Connecticut, relates that he saw two little girls hoeing onions, while a boy

of ten was plowing with a yoke of oxen. He adds jokingly, "Onions are its staple, and habits of indolence are said to obtain among the men."

134. Churches. — The life of our forefathers was not all work. They were interested in religion and in the education of their children. Just at the time when the people of the United States were uniting in a strong political union, the members of different religious bodies (§ 55) were moved to organize into national churches. The result was that most of the three thousand congregations scattered through the land were soon gathered into five or six great organized churches, and about twenty smaller ones. The largest of these bodies were the following:

(1) The English, or Episcopal, Church was no longer supported by public taxation anywhere. In 1783 Samuel Seabury was informally elected Bishop for Connecticut, and next year the choice was accepted in England. A general convention of the church was then organized which adopted the name of "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

(2) The English, Scotch, and Irish Catholics in the United States were now numerous enough to need a bishop. On the request of the American priests, one of the Carroll family of Maryland was designated by the Pope as Bishop of Baltimore, and began his work in 1790.

(3) The Baptists continued their system of single churches, each choosing its own minister, but they formed a "general committee." Several other national Baptist churches came forward about this time, such as the Freewill Baptists, and Seventh-day Baptists.

(4) The Congregational Church kept up its stiff old system of plain meetinghouses without fires, so that ministers sometimes preached in overcoat and mittens. They formed no general organization. In several New England states taxes were till many years later laid on the public at large for the support of the Congregational ministers and churches.

(5) The Methodists also formed a national church. John Wesley, head of the church in England, designated Thomas

Coke to be "superintendent." Coke and Francis Asbury were then (1784) elected by the Methodist ministers as the first bishops of their church. They organized a "national conference" which was a sort of federal government for their whole church.

(6) The Presbyterian Church in 1789 formed a "general assembly" which has since been held at intervals of about three years.

(7) Several new churches were founded. The Campbellites, often called Disciples, or Christians, came out from the Presbyterians and Baptists. The Universalist Church held its

first general convention in 1785.

Soon after 1800 the Unitarians split off from the Congregationalists in New England.

One of the interesting churches of the time was that of the Shakers, or Shaking Quakers, so called because they made a solemn dance a part of their services. They lived in communities, the men and women in separate houses, for they never married; and they adopted and brought up homeless children. A few of their villages are still in existence.



An old stone schoolhouse in Raritan, N. J., built in hexagonal shape. The earliest schools were usually made of logs

The Germans in Pennsylvania and the neighboring states (§ 55) were for the most part already gathered into Lutheran, Dunkard, or Mennonite bodies.

135. Schools.—Soon after the Revolution several great changes took place in the schooling of the children: (1) The common schools in New England were opened to girls, and that practice spread slowly through the country. (2) The employment of young women as teachers of mixed classes of boys and girls began about this time. (3) As the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois came into the Union they set up public common schools on the model of those in the East.



An early New England academy, in Leicester, Massachusetts

New York hung back from this system of public schools until about 1812, Pennsylvania till 1834, and most of the southern states much longer. It took time to get accustomed to the idea that the education of children, both boys and girls, benefited the whole people; and that every taxpayer, whether he had children or not, ought to support the schools exactly as he supported the roadmakers and the militia. For many years tuition was charged by the public schools to those who could afford to pay.

A new type of school, called the "academy," sprang up just before the Revolution and spread rapidly through the country. This was a combination of what we call grammar grades and high school, using buildings put up by private gifts, and charging fees. The teachers of such schools often spent a lifetime in them and became a great power among the young people.

136. Literature. — From the Revolution to 1815 was a dry time for American writing, except for endless discussions of forms of government. Among the so-called poets was Joel Barlow, who wrote a long rambling poem called *Vision of Columbus*, in which he makes the explorer prophesy that there will be a Panama Canal. Almost the only humorous writer was John Trumbull, who wrote a good-natured satire called *M'Fingal* in which he pokes fun at the New England town meetings.

Americans read the great English writers, such as Milton,

Shakespeare, Alexander Pope, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and Oliver Goldsmith, and the novels of Fanny Burney, which came out about this time; but the English looked down upon American writers. One of them wrote, "The mass of the North Americans are too proud to learn and too ignorant to teach, and having established themselves by acts of Congress as the most enlightened people of the world, they bid fair to retain their barbarism from mere regard to consistency." Not till about 1820 did James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, and William Cullen Bryant begin the glorious period of American literature.

137. Summary. — This chapter covers the same kind of topics as Chapter V on Colonial Life. It is an account of the people, their character, life, labor, religion, and education during the thirty years after the adoption of the new Constitution.

Americans a hundred years ago were the same sort of people as Americans nowadays, except that they were more scattered, and most of them lived in the country or in little villages. Of the four million people in 1790, about one fifth were negroes. Of the whites about five sixths were of English descent, but there were many Germans and Scotch-Irish.

The Americans read English books and were much affected by English habits. They paid special deference to certain wealthy and distinguished families, but it was a magnificent country for the wide-awake and industrious plain people who could take care of themselves and who settled the frontier. The country gentleman lived handsomely, and the slaveholding planters had a stirring outdoor life. Most of the white people were farmers working their own land. The women did housework, but rarely worked in the fields. There were skilled laborers for building and for the hand trades, and boys were apprenticed to learn such trades. The negroes were mostly slaves, but it was supposed that they would soon be set free.

Each of the great churches, besides some small ones, tried to bring together all its members throughout the nation into one organization.

The public schools were opened to girls and spread into the West, and academies sprang up throughout the country. For literature, the main dependence was on English writings, but there were a few American poets and many political writers.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 130) 1. How many people lived in the United States in 1790? 2. What were the principal towns? 3. What races were represented? 4. How many negroes and slaves were there?

(§ 131) 5. How far did Americans keep up connection with Great Britain after 1790? 6. What were the distinctions of classes? 7. Why was the United States a good place for plain people?

(§ 132) 8. How did people live on farms and plantations? 9 (For an essay). Account of a visit to Washington at Mount Vernon. 10 (For an essay). Account of life on a slaveholding plantation. 11 (For an essay). Account of life on a farm.

(§ 133) 12. What kind of skilled laborers could be found? 13. What was apprenticeship? 14. How were the negroes treated about 1790?

(§ 134) 15. What were the principal national churches about 1790? 16. How were the Episcopal and Catholic churches organized? 17. How were the Baptist and Congregational churches organized? 18. How were the Methodist and Presbyterian churches organized? 19. Mention other national churches. 20 (For an essay). The Shakers.

(§ 135) 21. What changes came about in schools after the Revolution? 22 (For an essay). Why is it right that a property owner who has no children should pay school taxes? 23. What was the academy?

(§ 136) 24. Who were the principal American writers after the Revolution? 25. What English writers were read by the colonists?

CHAPTER XIII

THE FEDERALISTS IN POWER (1789-1801)

138. The New Government Set on Foot (1789). — When it was announced that eleven states had ratified the Constitution, the next step was to put the new government into operation. This was done early in 1789, by the election of a President, Senators, and members of the House of Representatives. As everybody expected, George Washington of Virginia received the vote of every elector for President. John Adams, a New England man, was elected Vice President. On April 6, 1789, enough members appeared in the city of New York to organize the House and Senate, and Frederick Muhlenberg from Pennsylvania was chosen to be the first Speaker of the House.

Washington, as he passed through the country on his way to the seat of government, was everywhere received with triumphal arches and acclaim. On April 30, 1789, he was inaugurated in the temporary capitol, Federal Hall on Wall Street. Wearing a sword and a brown suit with gold buttons bearing eagles, he made a brief speech. He believed in a strong government, and the people all believed in him. In the new Congress sat several men (including Madison) who had been members of the Congress of the Confederation, and several who had sat in the Constitutional Convention. They meant to make the new Constitution work; and the Anti-Federalists (§ 128) had the good sense and patriotism to leave the government in the hands of those who believed in it.

139. The President's Cabinet (1789-1792). — The new Congress and President now had to face the problem of carrying out the general rules and principles of the Constitution in detail; for when the old Confederation ceased, everything had to be made over.

One of the first tasks was to create aids for the President in carrying out his duties of executing and applying the laws. Congress decided to make three "departments": a State Department in charge of foreign affairs, a Treasury Department in charge of finances, and a War Department in charge of military and naval affairs. An Attorney-General (not then head of a department) gave legal advice to the President. He and the three heads of departments, besides carrying on the government business, were the special friends and advisers of the President.

Washington selected four men to fill the new places, as follows: Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence; Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, a brilliant lawyer who had been a soldier under Washington, and a member of the Constitutional Convention (§ 124); Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, a Revolutionary general; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, a distinguished lawyer.

The next step was the formation of the Cabinet, which came into being when Washington invited the three secretaries and the Attorney-General from time to time to sit with him and talk things over. This Cabinet meeting has been continued by every President since that time, while the departments have increased from three to ten.

140. Manning the Ship of State. — Next after the executive came the judiciary department; that is, the federal courts which were to decide cases and explain the laws. The President appointed the new judges, and made John Jay of New York first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

As Congress created new offices, numerous other federal officers had to be appointed, such as postmasters, collectors of customs, land surveyors, and military officers. Washington knew hundreds of men throughout the country, and appointed many former soldiers. He also took advice from the Senators and members of the House and from the heads of departments, and he was bombarded with letters from applicants. For instance, a mother asked for an office for "My

second son Charles, aged twenty-one years, a youth of spirit, sobriety, and honesty, writes a legible hand, a good accountant, qualified for a clerk of an office — or in the military line."

141. Federal Debts and Taxes (1789-1792). — Even before the inauguration of the President, Congress had begun to pass federal laws. Those who had lent money to the states or to Congress could not get their money, and so United States bonds could be bought at about a quarter of their face value. The first thing to do was to collect enough money every year so that the new government could pay at least the interest on its debts. Congress, therefore, hastened to frame the first tariff act in 1789. A tariff is a law fixing the rate of duties to be paid on goods imported from abroad. For many years such duties were the chief source of revenue for the national government.

Alexander Hamilton had been brought up among the business men of the city of New York and as Secretary of the Treasury had a chance to show what the government might fairly do to aid and protect business. He induced Congress to promise that the public debt, which with interest amounted to about \$50,000,000, should be paid at its full face value (1789); and that action gave the people confidence that the new government would keep its promises to lenders. He also insisted that the outstanding state debts should be taken over by the federal government. The holders of those debts also were delighted with this new finance.

142. Corporations and Banks (1791). — A new business method was the forming of corporations. When a man does business by himself, or when several men are united in a firm, the property of every person or partner can be taken for any debt of the concern. If, however, a number of people obtain a written charter from the state allowing them to unite in a company or corporation, each one subscribes a part of the necessary money and receives "shares of stock." The total capital stock is fixed at a certain sum and is divided into shares of perhaps \$100 or \$50 or \$10 each. Certificates are issued to each stockholder stating that he owns so many shares,

and they can be sold from hand to hand. If the corporation fails, the stockholders are held liable only for the amount they have invested and perhaps for a small fixed sum in addition. By 1791 the state governments had chartered several corporations and companies to build roads and bridges, and had chartered also a few banks. People who were making and saving money began to invest in these corporations.

Hamilton next proposed that the federal government should charter a United States Bank in the corporation form, and he carried through an act creating such a bank with ten million dollars of capital (1791). This was as big in proportion to the wealth of the country as a bank of a thousand millions would be to-day.

143. Two Schools of Politics. — Such action was not acceptable to the country farmers, who owned no ships or stock in corporations, and wanted no banks. The spokesman for their point of view was Thomas Jefferson, then a well-to-do slave-owning planter. He believed that governments, whether state or national, ought to do as little as possible. He once said that the happiest people were the Indians, because they had no government to bother them. He wanted taxes to be low, and thought that the main purpose of governments was simply to make it possible for business men and all others to take care of themselves.

Hamilton and Jefferson also differed with regard to the share of the people in their own governments. Hamilton and his friends thought that the suffrage ought to be given only to people who had some property; and that even those voters ought to select the richest and most intelligent men of the community who might act for them, and tell them how to vote.

Jefferson favored giving a part in the government to the people at large. He admired the New England town meetings and public schools, and wanted to set up the same sort of thing in Virginia. He believed in widening the suffrage, and the new western states gave the ballot to most of the adult men. Hamilton was no believer in the wisdom of the people, and feared that a democratic government would be reckless and



unjust. But Jefferson wrote, "I am persuaded myself that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves . . . give them full information of their affairs through the channel of the public papers."

144. The First Parties (1793). — After Washington was reëlected President in 1792, Jefferson and Hamilton resigned from their offices, and each of them headed a body of friends which gradually grew into a political party. The Hamilton group took up again the old name of Federalists, or Federals; the Jefferson group at first called themselves Democrats, and later Republicans. They meant both names to show that they were a people's party.

The Federalists were strong in the shipping and commercial states: New England, New York, Maryland, and South Carolina. The Republicans were strong in Pennsylvania, in most of the southern states, and in the frontier states. President Washington, Vice President John Adams, and many others joined the Federalist party. James Madison, George Clinton of New York, Samuel Adams, and many others were Republicans. The leading western Republican was Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, a Swiss immigrant. He was a broad-minded man, an ardent believer in popular government, and soon became the strongest Republican member of Congress.

145. New States (1791-1796). — When North Carolina and Rhode Island ratified the federal Constitution they filled out the original thirteen states (§ 128). Three new states were soon added as follows:

(1) Vermont had been a discontented part of New York, and the people took the opportunity of the Revolution to break away (§ 110). New York agreed that Vermont should be a regular state, and it was the 14th to enter the Union (1791). It was a farming community, with about 90,000 people, and it was the first state that had no sea front.

(2) In settling the land claims of the states Kentucky was left a part of Virginia (§ 121). It attracted thousands of settlers, nearly all from Virginia and other southern states. They found the "blue-grass country" fertile, and many

planters took their slaves with them. These people expected statehood, and in 1792, by the consent of Virginia, were admitted to the Union as the 15th state, with about 75,000 people.

(3) North Carolina was slow in giving up her western claims, and just after the Revolution an informal "State of Franklin" was set up in East Tennessee; but North Carolina in 1790 agreed that the government of the region should go to the United States, and (together with the South Carolina cession) it was made the "Territory South of the Ohio River." By 1796 so many emigrants had gone out there, that the tract was admitted to the Union as the state of Tennessee (16th state), with about 70,000 people.

Congress in 1790 moved from New York to Philadelphia, but it fixed the permanent national capital on the Potomac River, where a District of Columbia was set off from the states of Maryland and Virginia. (The part ceded by Virginia was later given back to that state.) Here the city of Washington was laid out, and public buildings were constructed. In 1800



The Capitol in 1800

the federal government moved there and found the place a straggling town with a few incomplete public buildings.

146. The French Revolution (1789-1800). — The United States was much stirred by the breaking out of a terrible revolution in France (1789). After several years of struggle a republic was set up, and the king and queen of France were executed by the guillotine (1793). The French tried to follow the American plan of framing a bill of rights, and summed up their republican doctrine in the three famous words, "*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*," which mean "Freedom, Equality before the Law, Brotherhood."

War broke out between France and Great Britain; the French hoped that the United States might give them aid, but President Washington issued a Proclamation of Neutrality (1793) warning Americans not to take part with either side. Fierce and bloody wars raged in Europe during the next eight years, but the Americans, as peaceful neutrals, traded with both France and England, and thus built up the most profitable shipping industry that they had ever known.

At the same time the Americans opened a rich trade with Asia and sent their little vessels out to the Pacific coast for furs. One of them, the *Columbia* of Boston, discovered the mouth of a great river, which Captain Gray named the Columbia River for his ship (1792). Thence they sailed to China, or sailed on direct voyages from American ports, and brought home silk, tea, chinaware, and hundreds of thousands of hard dollars.

147. The English and the French (1793). — Meantime both France and England treated the weak United States as if it had no rights. Then and ever since it has been recognized that vessels of a "neutral" power — that is, a nation not at war — may be captured during a war between other powers under any of the following circumstances: (1) If they are caught with "contraband" bound to one of the fighting nations. Contraband means arms, military stores, and other things used in war. (2) If they try to enter a blockaded port, outside which a force of ships is stationed to stop vessels from entering. However, armed ships of both nations seized many American vessels which were neither carrying contraband nor bound to a blockaded port.

The British began to "impress" British sailors; that is, to seize them and compel them to serve in the royal navy, where the pay was small and the treatment harsh. Another serious grievance was that they also impressed British subjects whom they found on board American ships, and even some native-born Americans, because they talked English and looked like Englishmen.

Roused to anger by this ill-treatment, in 1794 the country was about to go to war with Great Britain. As a last hope



Mrs. John Jay

Washington sent John Jay over to England, and he made the Jay Treaty, in which the British promised to give up the fortified trading posts south of the boundary (§ 123), and agreed that they would no longer capture American vessels without reason. The treaty said nothing about impressments.

The French with some reason declared that the United States was treating England better than its old ally and friend, France. When, in 1797, President Adams sent over to France three commissioners, Pinckney, Gerry, and Marshall, to bring about a friendly

understanding, they were received by three go-betweens, usually called "X, Y, and Z." These men told the commissioners that they could accomplish nothing unless they would bribe the heads of the French government. President Adams firmly refused to pay tribute, and that led to a short naval war between the United States and France (1798); but in 1799 the French government passed into the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte, a brilliant young general, and peace was shortly made.

148. Adams and Jefferson (1796-1801). — John Adams had been elected President in 1796 by a close vote over Jefferson. Thereafter the Federalists and Republicans were very hostile to each other. The Federalist Congress passed the "Alien and Sedition Acts" (1798) to expel dangerous foreigners and to punish newspaper criticisms of the government. Jefferson and Madison replied in the "Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions," which argued that those acts were contrary to the higher law

of the Constitution (§ 127), and were therefore null and void, and need not be obeyed.

Next year came the untimely death of Washington — he was only 67 years old. Throughout the civilized world he was renowned for his noble character, and for his greatness as a general and a statesman. The nation mourned his loss.

When the election of 1800 came on, the Federalists were quarreling among themselves. Jefferson was the Republican candidate against John Adams. Aaron Burr of New York, one of the first “bosses” of that state, was another Republican candidate, who expected to become Vice President.

The electors gave Jefferson and Burr each 73 votes, while Adams received 65. At that time the electors did not indicate which man they preferred for President and which for Vice President; as there was a tie between Jefferson and Burr the decision had to be made (early in 1801) by the House of Representatives, in which the Federalists had a majority. They came near choosing Burr, but Hamilton and other wise men pointed out that, bad as they thought

Jefferson, he was not so dangerous as Burr. Enough Federalists were convinced to give to Jefferson the necessary votes for President, and Burr became Vice President.

149. Summary. — This chapter tells how the new Constitution was set in motion by the acts of Congress and appointments of men necessary to carry it out; and how the people divided into two political parties.



Washington Monument, 555 feet high, erected in the capital as a memorial to the first President

The new government was organized in New York, where Washington was inaugurated as President. He drew the heads of departments into a kind of council which was called the Cabinet. He appointed the holders of the new federal executive offices, and the judges.

Under the guidance of Alexander Hamilton, Congress passed a series of acts intended to give the new government an income which would enable it in the end to pay its debts. The state debts were taken over. A United States Bank was chartered which was intended to be helpful to business men.

All the thirteen original states came into the Union, and three new ones, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, were soon admitted.

The French Revolution of 1789 brought trouble to the United States because the French and the British captured many American vessels. Nevertheless, trade was good, especially with the Orient. By the Jay Treaty (1794) differences were settled with England, but France was not satisfied and there was a short naval war.

The Federalists and Republicans quarreled over the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. Washington's death weakened the Federalist party. In 1800 John Adams was beaten for a second term as President, and Jefferson was elected.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 138) 1. How was the government organized in 1789? 2 (For an essay). The inauguration of President Washington.

(§ 139) 3. What were the first executive departments of the government? 4. Whom did Washington make heads of the new departments?

(§ 140) 5. How was the Supreme Court organized? 6. How did Washington select men for appointment?

(§ 141) 7. Why were United States bonds so low in value? 8. What was the tariff of 1789? 9. What were Secretary Hamilton's plans for the public debt? 10 (For an essay). Account of Alexander Hamilton.

(§ 142) 11. What is a corporation? 12. What are shares of stock? 13. What was the United States Bank?

(§ 143) 14. What were Jefferson's ideas about government? 15. What were Hamilton's ideas?

(§ 144) 16. What was the Federalist party? 17. What was the early Democratic or Republican party? 18. How were the principal public men divided between the two parties?

(§ 145) 19. How was the union of thirteen states completed? 20. How and when was Vermont admitted to the Union? 21. How and when was Kentucky admitted? 22. How and when was Tennessee admitted? 23. How was Washington founded as the capital? 24 (For an essay). Early descriptions of the city of Washington.

(§ 146) 25. What was the French Revolution? 26. Why was the United States neutral in the European war? 27. How did Americans open up trade with Asia? 28 (For an essay). Account of an early American voyage to Asia.

(§ 147) 29. What is meant by contraband; by blockade; by impressment? 30. What was the Jay Treaty with Great Britain? 31. What was the X, Y, Z mission?

(§ 148) 32. What were the Alien and Sedition Acts? 33. What were the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions? 34 (For an essay). Account of the death of Washington and public mourning. 35. How did the election of 1800 come out? 36. How was the President chosen in 1801?

CHAPTER XIV

EXPANSION AND NEUTRAL TRADE (1801-1812)

150. President Jefferson (1801-1809). — When Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated in 1801, the Federalists felt that the end of the Republic was at hand, for they looked upon him in much the same way as conservative people now look upon a reckless reformer or an anarchist. Jefferson was a reserved man and did not tell everybody all that he knew, and hence some thought him false. He was a believer in government by the people, which many of the Federalists thought shocking, and they were sure that he could not be sincere.



Silhouette of Thomas
Jefferson

He was keenly interested in education and science, and urged his state to set up public schools and a state university. He was a natural reformer. As President he had large ideas of making the government better and more efficient. He appointed Albert Gallatin Secretary of the

Treasury with instructions to aid in cutting down the cost of government; and they succeeded.

Jefferson desired to be the President of the whole people, and in his inaugural address appealed to the Federalists in golden words: "Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. . . . We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

One of the things that Jefferson liked was what he called "republican simplicity." He sent in written messages to Congress instead of making speeches, as had been the habit of Washington and Adams. He would have no ceremony at the

White House, and shocked the minister of Great Britain by opening the door himself when that great man came to call, and by receiving him in dressing gown and slippers.

Jefferson was never what we should call a "good mixer." He hated speechmaking and meeting crowds of people whom he had never seen before. Yet no President has had more influence in Congress; none has ever made warmer friends among the people; and none but Lincoln has ever done so much to extend the idea that all the people ought to have a share in their own government.

151. Control of the Government (1801-1809). — Jefferson's party had a good majority in both branches of Congress, and were able to pass a new set of laws. But John Marshall, the leading Federalist in Virginia, had just become Chief Justice and set out to teach Jefferson a lesson. Taking advantage of a dispute over a small appointment, Marshall held that a certain order given by the President was not legal; and that part of an act of Congress was contrary to the higher law of the Constitution (§ 127) and hence was no law. Jefferson paid no attention to this decision, which seemed a kind of political trick.

The President had great trouble with the federal officers. Unless he would use his power to remove some of the Federalist officeholders, there would be hardly any vacancies; for, as Jefferson said, "Few die and none resign." However, he refused to make a "clean sweep" of the persons whom he found in office, but did change about a third of those who drew good salaries. Those whom he appointed removed the clerks and other subordinates within their offices. Many officeholders were saved by changing their politics. Large numbers of Federalists voted for Jefferson for a second term in 1804; and he carried almost every state in the Union.

152. Napoleon Bonaparte (1796-1804). — Soon after Jefferson became President, Napoleon Bonaparte declared himself to be emperor of the French. During twenty years he was the greatest man in the world. Napoleon was of an Italian family living in Corsica, which was a part of France. He entered the army, and during the French Revolution (§ 146)

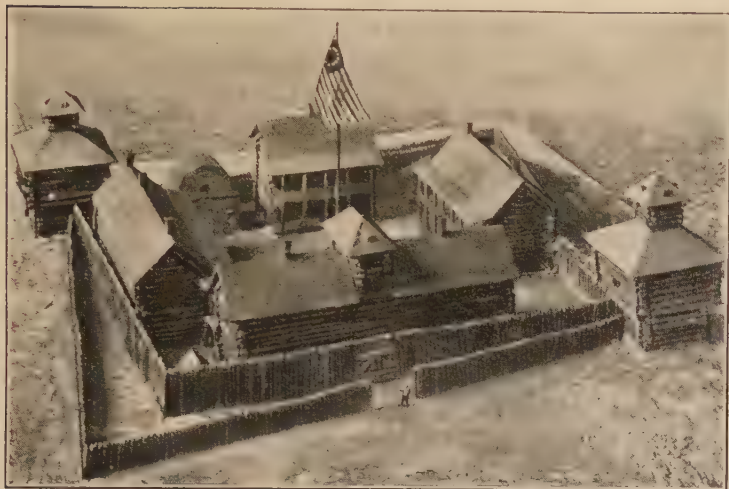
helped to put down the mob in Paris with his cannon. To get rid of him, the government sent him with an army to Italy (1796), where he won so many victories that he became the foremost man in France (§ 147). As emperor, his word was law in every part of the French dominions, and in the many European countries and provinces that he conquered.

Napoleon had a magnificent plan to construct a new French Empire with colonies all over the world; and therefore he wanted Louisiana, which for about forty years had been a Spanish colony (§ 71). In his direct relations with the United States, Napoleon always showed himself slippery and false. He had not the least idea of courtesy or of keeping promises; hence the Americans often suffered in their dealings with him. In 1800 he forced the king of Spain to make a treaty ceding Louisiana back to France. Then he sent a fleet and army to conquer Haiti, which, though formerly a French colony, had broken away and was under an independent negro government.

When in 1802 Jefferson heard of the transfer of Louisiana he took alarm and wrote a letter which was probably shown to Napoleon, in which he said: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans."

153. Interest of the West in Louisiana (1802-1803).—The West was urgent that the United States should secure New Orleans. Out of the 5,300,000 Americans in 1800, 500,000 were living west of the mountains. The Northwest Territory was growing fast. In 1800 Connecticut gave up the Western Reserve (§ 121); that area was then united with the settlements on the Ohio and in the interior; and they were all admitted to the Union in 1803, as the state of Ohio (17th state) with about 65,000 people. In 1803 a government post was established at Fort Dearborn, the site of Chicago.

The westerners had no good roads or waterways to the east, and sent their surplus products down the Mississippi; and they were much annoyed by the Spanish control of the river's mouth. They were still more disturbed when they learned that Louisiana was about to pass to France, which was then the strongest country in the world.



Fort Dearborn. Built in 1803, destroyed in 1812, rebuilt in 1816. From a model in the Chicago Historical Museum

Jefferson was already trying to buy the triangular strip known as the Island of Orleans (§ 71), which included the city of New Orleans; and also to buy Spanish West Florida, which extended from the Apalachicola River west to the Iberville and the Mississippi. He now sent James Monroe as a special envoy, to act with Robert R. Livingston, the regular minister to France, in making clear to Napoleon that the United States must have part of the sea front of Louisiana.



New Orleans and West Florida

154. Annexation of Louisiana (1803). — Meanwhile Napoleon's army in Haiti had been almost destroyed by disease and by the negro troops. War with Great Britain was at hand, and he saw that the British would capture Louisiana if he annexed it. Suddenly he changed his mind and directed his ministers to offer to the Americans the whole vast territory of

Louisiana. For several days Livingston and Monroe haggled over the price; but April 30, 1803 was the date of a formal treaty by which the whole of that enormous territory was transferred to the United States. (See map, pages 8-9.)

It was a good bargain for both parties. Napoleon received about \$15,000,000 for a colony which he could not occupy, and for which he had paid nothing. The United States secured the area from which later were organized thirteen states and parts of states, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Montana. To Jefferson is due the chief credit for thus doubling the area of the United States. He saw the great advantages of the territory, and Congress readily followed his lead and completed the purchase.

155. What was Louisiana? (1803) — The next question was, What is included in Louisiana? The treaty stated that France ceded "the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." Therefore, the Americans fell back on the definition in the old grant of 1712 to Crozat (§ 66), which included in Louisiana all the country watered by streams flowing into the Mississippi. The part east of the river, except the little Island of Orleans, was already included in the United States; the western part reached northward and westward to the Rocky Mountains.

As to the boundaries on the Gulf there was a dispute. (1) "Louisiana when France possessed it" included the Gulf coast from the Mississippi to the Perdido River. (2) Louisiana "with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain" did not include the strip between the Iberville and Perdido rivers. The Spaniards had never meant to transfer this region which they called West Florida to Napoleon; and how could he turn it over to the United States?

The Americans also claimed that Louisiana extended along the coast of Texas as far as the Rio Grande, because of La Salle's little settlement on Matagorda Bay more than a century earlier (§ 39). Many years later it was discovered that Napoleon meant at the time to take the coast of Texas, and not to take West Florida. The United States lacked the neces-

sary information and was anxious to round out the purchase, and therefore in the end took West Florida, and gave up Texas.

156. Expedition to Oregon (1803-1807).— Across the Rockies, beyond the boundaries of Louisiana, was a region called Oregon, which included the great Columbia River (§ 146). Jefferson was almost the only man of his time who clearly saw that the United States was bound eventually to stretch from ocean to ocean. As soon as he became President he induced Congress to approve an expedition to the Pacific, headed by his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and by William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark (§ 103). They had to cross a country almost as little known as the Antarctic continent is to-day.



Western explorations, 1804-1807

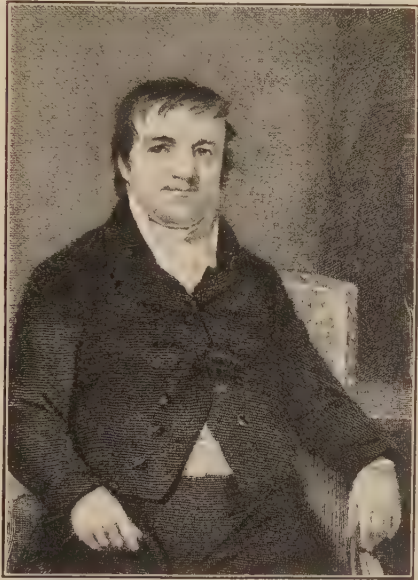
The party of forty-five men, for which Congress appropriated only \$2500, was provided by Jefferson with wise instructions. The men left St. Louis in 1804, and spent the whole summer in working their tedious way in boats up the Missouri to Fort Mandan, near the present Bismarck, North Dakota. There they spent the winter, and in the spring of 1805 thirty-one of them set off, guided by the "Bird Woman," an Indian squaw, the wife of one of the party. They crossed the main divide of the Rocky Mountains, and followed down the Columbia River to its mouth. That winter they spent



Lewis and Clark meeting Mandan Indians on the Missouri

in Fort Clatsop, a little post which they built south of the river, near the ocean. In 1806 they found a somewhat different route back to the Missouri and reached St. Louis again.

157. Further Exploration of the Far West (1806-1811). — The Lewis and Clark expedition proved that it was possible to connect the eastern United States with the Columbia River country by a difficult land route. While Lewis and Clark were in Oregon, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was ordered to find the sources of the Mississippi, and he reached Cass Lake — then thought to be the farthest northern source of the river. The next year he was sent across the plains on a western expedition. One day he saw a wonderful cloud, which as he came nearer proved to be the mountain now called Pikes Peak, which stood almost on the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase.



John Jacob Astor, the first American millionaire

The valley of the lower Mississippi was a rich country, and when Louisiana was annexed there were about 70,000 people there, including 30,000 slaves. Immigrants poured in from the states to the westward. In 1812 the state of Louisiana was admitted as the 18th in the Union, with 80,000 inhabitants. Congress organized the rest of the Louisiana Purchase as Missouri Territory. St. Louis became the seat of a great fur trade up into the far Northwest. The trappers and traders explored nearly the whole valley of the Missouri and reached Salt Lake.

John Jacob Astor, a rich fur merchant of New York, under-

took to plant a post in Oregon, and sent a party directly across the mountains, and another party with a cargo of goods around Cape Horn by sea. In 1811 they built a post at Astoria, on the south side of the Columbia River. This post was the third of the strong claims of the United States to the possession of the Oregon country: (1) discovery of the river (1792); (2) exploration of the river valley (1805); (3) planting of a trading post south of the river (1811).

158. Burr Conspiracy (1805-1807). — The relations of the United States with the Southwest were tested by Aaron Burr, a shrewd but tricky politician, whom Jefferson disliked for trying to take the presidency in 1801 (§ 148). Alexander Hamilton drew on himself Burr's enmity, and was forced into a duel; Burr killed him at the first shot, and was indicted for murder (1804) but was never tried. When Burr's vice presidency expired (1805) he found himself out of public life. In 1806, with a force of about sixty men, he floated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in boats. Nobody knows just what Burr intended to do, — perhaps he planned to invade Texas, which was then Spanish. Whatever his purpose, Jefferson had him arrested, brought back to Virginia, and put on trial for treason. The proof was not sufficient, and he was acquitted by the jury; but he was a broken man and never again was trusted to enter political life.

159. European Wars and Impressments (1803-1812). — Jefferson was a man of peace, and he believed that wars could be prevented by showing to hostile countries that it was contrary to their interests to fight. Nevertheless, when the Tripolitans on the north coast of Africa captured American ships and made the officers and crews slaves (1801), Jefferson had to send out a fleet, which bombarded the pirate towns and compelled the people to make peace.

His principles were put to a more severe test in the series of great European wars. They came to be what was called "the battle between the elephant and the whale"; that is, between the great army of France and the great navy of England. For many months Napoleon kept a large force at Boulogne. If he could only defeat the British fleet, the

elephant could be ferried across the English Channel in a few hours. In the famous sea fight of Trafalgar, in 1805, the combined French and Spanish navy was totally defeated by Lord Nelson, and England was thus saved from invasion.

The British took this opportunity to renew the odious practice of impressment (§ 147). There was perhaps some ground for impressing British sailors who had deserted and taken service on American ships; but there was none for impressing several thousand native-born Americans. In 1807 the British frigate *Leopard* fired on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, just outside Chesapeake Bay, and took off some British deserters, and also several native-born Americans. This was as hostile as if the British had sent a boat into the harbor of New York and arrested men on the wharf.

160. Napoleon's Policy (1803-1812).— While the United States was annexing Louisiana and exploring Oregon, Napoleon, in campaign after campaign, showed himself perhaps the greatest soldier who has ever commanded an army. He beat the Prussians; he beat the Austrians; he beat the Russians; but he could not beat the English fleets. Then he conceived the idea of ruining England by the Continental System. He issued a decree that no English goods or English ships should be allowed in any of the ports controlled by France; and that meant almost the whole coast of Europe from the Adriatic Sea around to the Baltic.

The British replied with furious Orders in Council, under which any vessels bound to France could be seized; and both sides captured American vessels right and left. Within seven years 1,500 American ships were taken by England and France. The whale and the elephant were therefore wounding an innocent nation, which was not fighting on either side.

161. Embargo (1807-1809).— To accept these violations of American rights would have been cowardly; yet the country was in no condition for war, and all efforts to make a new treaty with Great Britain failed. Therefore, Jefferson persuaded Congress to pass an Embargo Act; that is, an act to prevent the exporting of American goods. For more than

a year no foreign or American vessel was allowed to take a cargo out of the country. The hope was that the British or the French, or both, would give up the wrongful capture of American ships rather than be deprived of the breadstuffs and other exports from America.

The embargo hit England hard, and the English merchants and shipowners very nearly induced their government to give up. It also hit the vessel owners of the New England and middle states, who protested with all their might. Furthermore, it hit the middle state and southern farmers and planters who had been shipping grain and tobacco to Europe. Hence, when Great Britain and France would not yield, the United States gave in; and, much against Jefferson's will, Congress repealed the embargo (1809).

Jefferson was tired of office, and though he would have run for a third term if necessary to prevent the choice of a Federalist, he pushed forward his friend and Secretary of State, Madison, who was in 1808 elected President. Jefferson had done great things for his country. He had doubled its territory, and made a lodgment on the Pacific coast; he had built up a great political party. He lived seventeen years longer, admired and respected, and died at his estate of Monticello, July 4, 1826, on the same day as John Adams, exactly fifty years after the adoption of their famous Declaration of Independence.

162. Summary. — This chapter carries the country through the events and quarrels of Jefferson's eight years as President. It deals especially with the treatment of the United States by foreign countries, and with the annexation of Louisiana.

Jefferson had a hard task before him when he became President in 1801, for the Federalists were still strong, and thought him dangerous. Congress was on his side, but the Supreme Court was against him. Jefferson dismissed part of the federal officeholders to make room for his friends.

In foreign affairs he had to contend with Napoleon Bonaparte, the greatest and trickiest man of his time. When news came that Louisiana was to be given by Spain back to France, Jefferson took alarm. He tried to buy the east bank of the lower Mississippi. Instead, Napoleon offered



Jefferson entertaining his friends at Monticello

him the whole of Louisiana, and Livingston and Monroe closed the bargain, which Jefferson carried out. The boundaries were disputed, as to both West Florida and Texas. The President also sent an overland expedition to Oregon, and thus prepared the way for a footing on the Pacific coast. After the annexation of Louisiana, Aaron Burr attempted to stir up the Southwest.

Trouble arose abroad through the great contest between "the elephant and the whale"; that is, between France as the great land power, and England as the great sea power. Napoleon set in operation his Continental System. In order to injure each other, the two nations captured hundreds of American vessels. The British renewed their impressments, even daring to take men off the decks of an American ship of war. Jefferson attempted to bring England and France to reason by an embargo, but it cut off the trade and profit of American shipowners and producers, and had to be given up in 1809.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 150) 1. What did Jefferson's enemies think about him? 2. What were his ideas about public welfare? 3. What were his political ideas? 4. What was republican simplicity? 5 (For an essay). A visit to Jefferson at Monticello.

(§ 151) 6. How did the Supreme Court try to control Jefferson? 7. How did Jefferson arrange appointments to office?

(§ 152) 8. What made Napoleon Bonaparte a great figure? 9 (For an essay). Description of the Emperor Napoleon. 10. What were the relations of Napoleon with America?

(§§ 152, 153) 11. Why did the United States object to the French annexation of Louisiana?

(§ 153) 12. Why was the West interested in Louisiana? 13. What was the "Island of Orleans"? 14. How did Jefferson attempt to settle the Louisiana trouble?

(§ 154) 15. Why did Napoleon give up Louisiana? 16. Why was the annexation of Louisiana a good thing for the United States? 17 (For an essay). Early descriptions of New Orleans.

(§ 155) 18. What was meant by Louisiana? 19. What was the controversy about West Florida? 20. What was the controversy about Texas?

(§ 156) 21. Why was Jefferson interested in Oregon? 22. What was the Lewis and Clark expedition and when did it occur? 23 (For an essay). Incidents in the Lewis and Clark expedition.

(§ 157) 24. What were the Pike expeditions? 25 (For an essay). Accounts of Pikes Peak. 26. How was the Louisiana country organized? 27. What was Astor's plan for Oregon? 28. What were the claims of the United States to Oregon?

(§ 158) 29 (For an essay). The Burr conspiracy.

(§ 159) 30. Why did Jefferson make war against the Tripolitans? 31 (For an essay). Incidents in the Tripolitan War. 32. What was the "battle between the elephant and the whale"? 33. Why did not Napoleon invade England? 34 (For an essay). Account of the *Leopard's* attack on the *Chesapeake*.

(§ 160) 35. What was Napoleon's Continental System? 36. What were the Orders in Council?

(§ 161) 37. What was the Embargo Act and how was it put into effect? 38. Why did the United States withdraw the act? 39. What did Jefferson do for his country?

CHAPTER XV

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN (1809-1815)

163. A Troubled Period (1809-1812).— During Madison's first three years as President, he tried his best to keep out of war, and made every effort to induce Great Britain and France to respect the rights of neutral vessels; yet the captures and impressments did not cease. Congress tried several peaceful methods of cutting off trade with one or the other foreign country, without effect. At one time Napoleon pretended to withdraw his decrees and thereby drew a number of American ships into French ports, where they were confiscated (1810).

By this time the people were so nervous that when an Indian war broke out in the Northwest (1811) it was mistakenly supposed to be stirred up by British agents from Canada. The Indian leader, Tecumseh, was beaten at the battle of Tippecanoe by William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, and there were no more serious Indian wars in that part of the country. A few months later the southern Indian tribes rose and were badly defeated by General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee.

A real war with England seemed likely. The Federalists, who included most of the shipowners, had long clamored for war against France, but war of any kind was now the last thing they wanted. In spite of the captures, the profits of the carrying trade were so great that new ships were constantly built. The owners, in spite of their losses, were erecting stately houses, and putting money into the banks and into new ships. Part of the captures were justified, for some Americans had a way of furnishing their ships with false papers, intended to conceal the real nature of their voyage from searchers.

164. Outbreak of War (1811-1812). — Madison still wanted peace, and so did his Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, who had paid off \$40,000,000 of public debt, and did not wish to run up another war debt. However, they could not stand out against the "War Hawks," a group of young men who were to be the leaders during the next thirty years. The most remarkable among them were Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina (both members of the House of Representatives), and Andrew Jackson, a planter and Indian fighter of Tennessee. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who came into public life in 1813, was opposed to the war.

The War Hawks represented young voters, who had no remembrance of the losses and sufferings of the Revolutionary War. Clay was from the West, where people had no ships to lose and no sailors to be impressed, yet he felt that the government ought not to put up any longer with disregard of the American flag and American rights. He felt sure that England could easily be brought to terms. He proposed to conquer Canada and insist on terms of peace "at Quebec or Halifax." Nothing seemed easier, for by this time there were about 7,000,000 Americans, and the whole population of Canada was not more than 450,000. In June, 1812, therefore, war was declared by about a two-thirds majority of Congress.

165. Conditions of War (1812). — The reasons for war as stated by President Madison at that time, were as follows: (1) Intrigues of the British with the western Indians. This was an error. (2) Captures of vessels under the Orders in Council. At the last moment the British government announced that these orders were withdrawn. It is doubtful whether that action was sincere. (3) Systematic impressment of American seamen. That was a good and sufficient reason for war.

It was an unlucky moment to make war against England, for in 1812 the Russians grew tired of the Continental System (§ 160) and refused any longer to support France. Napoleon therefore raised a "Grand Army" of 550,000 men and led

them into the heart of Russia. However unfairly England had acted toward the United States, the English were fighting



War of 1812

in 1812 for the freedom of Europe and America, against a military despot who was trying to make himself absolute master of Europe.

The time was unfortunate also within the United States. The Federalists, after saying that "the administration could not be kicked into a war," now voted and worked against war; for they knew that England would have the right in war time to capture any American vessels found at sea. Many of the Republicans in the middle states also were opposed to the war; and in the election of 1812 they made a combination with the Federalists, put up DeWitt Clinton of New York as a candidate, and came near defeating Madison for reelection. The country was divided, and a large number of the people were opposed to war with England.

166. American Defeats (1812-1814).—During the first two years the fighting on land was a series of defeats for the

Americans. Every attempt to take Canada was a failure. On the contrary, the Canadians captured Detroit and held it for a time; and they forced back every expedition from the United States that attempted to cross the Niagara River or to push north from the Hudson. At the end of the war the Americans did not hold an acre of Canadian soil.

On the other hand, the British took and held about half the present state of Maine, the northern end of Lake Champlain, and the distant fur-trading post of Astoria (§ 157). The



The fur-trading post and fort at Astoria in 1813

crowning disgrace was the landing of a British force of about 5000 men on the coast of Chesapeake Bay, and their march overland as though they were going to a picnic, till they captured Washington (1814). Within a circle of sixty miles from the capital lived not less than a hundred thousand able-bodied Americans accustomed to the use of a gun; but the British were allowed to burn the public buildings and to return to their fleet, almost without losing a man.

What was the matter? Not lack of men, for in the course of the war about 500,000 different Americans were enlisted as soldiers, mostly for brief service. There was no shortness of funds, though the government had to pay high for what it borrowed. The trouble was that Madison and his military

advisers were weak and incapable. The Secretary of War, John Armstrong, was the man who was responsible for the loss of Washington. To be sure, the roads were bad and it was hard to send men and supplies to the front; but somehow the Canadians marched over just as bad roads, and managed to reach the desired places.

Throughout the war the United States raised only 50,000 regular troops, and Congress would not allow the President to enlist a proper number. The War Department had to depend on the state militia, as the Continental Congress had done during the war of the Revolution (§ 98). In both wars thousands of brave and patriotic men were sent forward who were not properly drilled, armed, or uniformed and who had no skilled officers, no proper equipment, no sufficient provision of surgeons and hospital stores. They lacked experience of fighting in large bodies against trained soldiers, and they felt little confidence in their officers. If 100,000 men had been raised in the first year of the war and had been properly drilled and commanded, by the second year they might easily have taken Quebec and Halifax, as was expected.

167. American Victories (1812-1815).— Two successes encouraged the country. Commodore Perry built a little fleet of five vessels, attacked a British fleet at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie (1813), and reported his victory in a famous dispatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." This opened the way for General Harrison to invade what was then called Upper Canada — now Ontario — and he beat the British at the Thames River (1813); but he did not hold Canadian soil.

In 1814 several pitched battles proved that the American militia, if seldom successful in attack, nevertheless could hold their ground and beat off assailants. A British expedition on its way south on Lake Champlain was stopped at Plattsburg by raw American sailors and soldiers, well commanded by Captain MacDonough and General Macomb. After the capture of Washington, an attack on Baltimore was beaten off, and the sight of the flag still floating over Fort McHenry

gave rise to the soul-stirring national song written by Francis Scott Key:

“ Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming? ”

The most stubborn resistance to the British and the greatest victory for the Americans was the battle of New Orleans, fought after peace had been made, but before the news was received (January, 1815). General Andrew Jackson, with about 4000 men, few of whom had ever seen a civilized enemy, withstood the assault of General Pakenham, with 5300 crack troops, experienced in European wars. The British lost 2000 and the Americans about 70. No wonder that this glorious defense erased from the minds of the Americans the defeats and humiliations of the earlier battles!

168. Sea Fighting (1812-1814).—On the

sea the tables were completely turned, for the little American navy, aided by the privateers, humbled the British navy and made havoc among the merchant ships. The odds against the Americans were frightful. Great Britain had about a thousand vessels of war, including many three-decker “ships of the line,” carrying from 70 to 120 guns each. The Americans had only sixteen available ships, including three frigates of 44 guns each.



General Andrew Jackson

Within a few weeks after the beginning of the war, the frigate *Constitution* captured first the British frigate *Guerrière*, and then the *Java*; and the frigate *United States* captured the *Macedonian*. In the course of the war there were ten other ship duels, and the Americans were victorious in eight of them. The ship *Essex* was sent around to the Pacific, and captured British whalers right and left.

The British people were thunderstruck at such victories, which showed the pluck, skill, and marksmanship of the American sailors. Gradually the American navy was worn down; two large ships, the *Chesapeake* and the *President*, were captured; and the few remaining naval vessels were blockaded in home ports. Meanwhile, the British privateers swarmed out, and together with the cruisers snapped up over 400 American ships, besides many small craft.

The American flag was still floating at sea on numerous American privateers, which in the course of the war took nearly 2300 British merchantmen, besides 165 taken by the navy. Our privateers were strong, they were fast, they were well-armed; they boldly sailed up and down near the British coast, till the shipowners were afraid to send vessels from England to Ireland. One privateer from Rhode Island made six cruises and took ships and cargoes worth about three million dollars. There was no safety so long as the American privateers were ranging the seas; hence the British merchants and shipowners demanded peace.

169. Internal Opposition to the War (1812-1814). — Meanwhile the Federalists were doing their best to interfere with the success of "Mr. Madison's war." A good part of the hundreds of vessels captured belonged to New England owners, and those that safely reached port had to pay duty on their cargoes to the treasury at Washington. Many of the New England ports were blockaded by British ships and the ships and sailors were left idle.

Hence several state governors refused to allow their militia to march when called by the United States, on the ground that they were summoned, not to defend the country, but to conquer Canada. Nevertheless thousands of New England

men volunteered and took part in the war. When the British attacked Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, the federal government refused to send any troops to defend it.

In 1814 the New Englanders were so discontented that an informal meeting was called to discuss what should be done to relieve New England. This so-called "Hartford Convention" sat in secret, and was suspected of a plot for secession from the Union. No such proposal came from the convention, but it did demand changes in the federal Constitution which would have made the federal Union no longer possible.

The whole country was tired of war, the more so because heavy war taxes were laid; and the public debt increased from 40 millions to 120 millions. After the capture of Washington, all the banks in the country stopped giving out specie to pay their depositors or to redeem their notes (§ 109). That left nothing but paper money in circulation. For many reasons the Americans wanted peace as much as the British.

170. Peace at Last (1814).— Before the American war ended, peace had come to Europe through an alliance of nearly all the nations of Europe against Napoleon. The Russian campaign of 1812 (§ 165) was a horrible disaster to Napoleon, for probably not one fourth of the French Grand Army ever saw their homes again. The allied powers, when they saw their enemy weakened, drove Napoleon backward and in 1814 invaded France and compelled him to give up his throne. Napoleon raised another army in 1815 but was again completely beaten by the British and Prussians at the battle of Waterloo, and was imprisoned for the rest of his life on the distant island of St. Helena.

For some time American commissioners had been in Europe trying to make peace; and in December, 1814, a treaty was signed by them at Ghent (Belgium) which was very favorable to the United States. The British agreed to restore all the American territory that they held, and gave way on almost every other serious question except that of impressments; but when the European war ended, impressments stopped, and that method of raising men was never used again by Great Britain.



The signing of the treaty of Ghent. The chief American commissioner was John Quincy Adams; behind him stands Albert Gallatin

Almost everybody in the United States was delighted with the result. The New Englanders forgot their grievances, and the rest of the Union was glad enough to put an end to the sacrifice of money, trade, and men. Within a few years the Federalist party died out.

The war left in the minds of the English people the knowledge that the Yankees—as they called the Americans—were as good sailors, as good fighters, and as good men as the British themselves.

The War of 1812 was in the end a good thing for the United States. It showed that the country could not get on with a weak government and with small men at the head of affairs. It developed several brilliant soldiers such as Jackson and Harrison, both of whom afterwards became Presidents of the United States. Above all, it taught the people of all the states that they had one flag and one country. It helped to make the nation.

171. Summary.— This chapter is devoted to the War of 1812, paying little attention to the details of land and sea fighting, but setting forth the spirit of the people, their defeats and victories, and the general results of the war upon the nation.

After 1809 war seemed likely, and a little Indian war broke out on the northwestern frontier. Western and southern leaders favored war, and expected to conquer Canada. They forced a declaration of war on Great Britain by the United States in 1812, mainly on the two issues of the captures of vessels and the impressment of American seamen. It came just when Napoleon was trying to make himself dictator of Europe; and the United States fought his enemies, who ought to have been our friends.

It was expected that the war would be fought outside the borders of this country; but the United States stuck to the old system of enlisting militia for short terms, and the result was a series of heartbreaking defeats in most of the land battles. The militia showed that it was made of good stuff when properly commanded, as was seen by the repulse of British attacks at Plattsburg and New Orleans.

The glory of the War of 1812 is in the lake and sea fighting. The little navy and the privateers taught Englishmen that, ship for ship and man for man, the United States was the equal of Great Britain. The damage inflicted on the British merchant ships by privateers was one of the principal arguments for peace. Jackson's victory at New Orleans left a sense of being victorious throughout.

The New Englanders and many of the people in the middle states were from the beginning opposed to the war. In a convention at Hartford in 1814 some of the leaders demanded changes in the system of government. After Napoleon was defeated in Europe, the British had nothing to gain by keeping up hostilities, and agreed to the easy terms of the Peace of Ghent (1814).

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QUESTIONS

(§ 163) 1. How did the United States try to keep the peace? 2. What were the principal Indian wars of the period? 3 (For an essay). Account of the battle of Tippecanoe. 4. How did the shipowners make money during the European war?

(§ 164) 5. Who were the "War Hawks"? 6. How did the West feel toward war? 7. What was Henry Clay's plan of war?

(§ 165) 8. What were the official reasons for the War of 1812? 9. What was the situation in Europe in 1812? 10 (For an essay). Account of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. 11. How did the Federalists receive the war?

(§ 166) 12. How did the land war go in 1812 and 1813? 13 (For an essay). Account of the capture of Washington in 1814. 14. Why was the war on land unfavorable to the United States? 15. How were troops raised and trained?

(§ 167) 16. How did the sea war go in the War of 1812? 17 (For an essay). Account of the battle of Put-in-Bay. 18 (For an essay). The British defeat at Plattsburg. 19. What gave rise to the song of the *Star Spangled Banner*? 20 (For an essay). Account of the American victory at New Orleans.

(§ 168) 21. What preparation had the Americans made for war at sea? 22 (For an essay). Account of one of the sea victories of the Americans. 23. What part did the privateers take in the sea war?

(§ 169) 24. Why was New England opposed to the war? 25. What was the "Hartford Convention"? 26. What was the effect of the war on finances?

(§ 170) 27. How was Napoleon driven out of European affairs? 28. What was the treaty of Ghent? 29. What was the effect of the War of 1812 on the English? 30. What was the effect on political parties? 31. What was the effect on the American people?

CHAPTER XVI

GOING WEST (1790-1830)

172. What was the West? — From 1790 to 1830 three groups or sections existed in the United States, as follows: (1) the North, extending from New Hampshire to western New York and Pennsylvania; (2) the South, extending from Maryland to Louisiana; (3) the West, extending from western Pennsylvania and New York to Missouri. On every national question that arose, the opinions and desires of the people of all three sections had to be taken into account.

The new West began at the summit of the Appalachian Mountains. The western slope of these ranges is gradual and is drained by long rivers. One source of the Allegheny River is Lake Chautauqua, which is only seven miles from Lake Erie; and from the headwaters of the Kanawha, south of the Ohio, it is only a few rods eastward to the springs of the James River. The Allegheny and the Monongahela are each about 300 miles long; from their junction at Pittsburgh the Ohio runs 970 miles to the Mississippi, and it is 1100 miles farther down the Mississippi to the sea.

Almost all the basin of the Ohio with its northern and southern tributaries is broken country, full of mountains, hills, or rolling ground. In 1800 most of it was still covered with the original forests of evergreen and hardwood. Travelers tell of walnut and chestnut trees ten feet in diameter and running up seventy feet before they branched.

The West was blessed with rivers which had depth enough to carry rafts of timber, flatboats, and steamers. The Ohio was the great highway to most parts of the West; for the quickest route to the interior was to sail down the Ohio, and then by canoe or flatboat or steamboat to travel up such streams as the Wabash or the Tennessee. Hence the southern

parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were settled mostly by people from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, who came over the mountains to the Ohio River.

173. Western Indians. — North of the Ohio River the whites found on the land such strong and warlike tribes as the Delawares and Shawnees, Miamis and Wyandots. In Ohio the Indians twice defeated United States troops, until General Anthony Wayne thoroughly beat them and made them agree to a division line (1795; map, page 159), east of which the settlers might freely make homes. From that time the only Indian war in the Northwest for many years was the brief Tippecanoe campaign (§ 163).

In the Southwest the white men were in close contact with strong tribes, especially the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Creeks. These tribes were fierce and warlike, and determined to stay on their lands. For nearly fifty years after the Revolution these Indians and the frontiersmen fought each other, "war to the knife and the knife to the hilt," as the saying went. Andrew Jackson and other commanders at last so weakened them that there were no more dangerous Indian wars in the South.

The Indians who were left were put on "reservations"; that is, on tracts of land that were not subject to the laws of the states or territories in which they lay. The remnants of the fierce tribes in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi were carried far across the Mississippi, to what came to be called Indian Territory. The United States government appointed agents to look after these and other Indians, and to keep out white intruders.

174. Indian Life in the West. — Most of the western pioneers wanted to get rid of the redskin neighbors who wandered about the settlements and had no notion of taking up farms and living among the whites. Missionaries were sent out to some of the tribes, and they tell us that the Indians thought the white man's life dull, and enjoyed their own freedom. They believed in a Great Spirit and a future life, but seem to have had no idea of evil spirits until they were taught by white men that there were devils.

Their social life was gay; they enjoyed dancing and feasting. They lived chiefly on game and corn. The names of Indian places are often musical, as Catawba and Mahoning; but some of their towns and villages bore curious names, for instance, "Gekelemukpechuenk." They often grew tired of a fixed place, or their enemies disturbed them, or the white people crowded them so that they wandered away and built a new village.

Prisoners, whether white or Indian, often had to "run the gantlet," between two rows of people armed with switches, clubs, and hatchets. Then they were led around and were made to dance and tell their deeds in battle. Unless ransomed or adopted into the tribe — which was one way of keeping up the number of warriors — prisoners were usually put to death, the victims never uttering a cry or groan, but singing and taunting their torturers. The Indians had many good qualities, but they and most of the white people could never learn to live together in peace and friendship.

175. White Settlers. — In spite of all obstacles the West grew wonderfully fast. In 1790 it already contained about 110,000 people; in 1810 there were 1,220,000 in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana; in 1830 there were 3,300,000, of whom about half lived south of the Ohio. To-day in the same region there are over 26,000,000 inhabitants.

What sort of people were these settlers? Reverend Joseph Doddridge in his *Notes on the Settlement* writes the following stirring verses about the strong and capable kind of people who helped to build up the new country:

"Where Allegheny's towering, pine-clad peaks,
Rise high in air, and sparkle in the sun,
At whose broad base the gushing torrent breaks,
And dashes through the vale with curling foam,

"My father came, while yet our world was young,
Son of the trackless forest, large and wild,
Of manners stern, of understanding strong,
As nature rude, but yet in feeling, mild."

A less desirable class of settlers was thus described by a visitor in 1790: "Great numbers emigrate to the back part of North and South Carolina and Georgia, for the sake of living without trouble. The woods, such is the mildness of the climate, produce grass to support horses and cattle, and chestnuts, acorns, and other things, for the food of hogs; so that they have only a little corn to raise, which is done without much labor. They call this kind of life *following the range*. They are very ignorant, and hate all men of education; they call them pen-and-ink men."

These two kinds of settlers, the energetic and the shiftless, could be found in all parts of the West. Up to 1830 very few foreign immigrants found their way west of the mountains, but the descendants of the colonial Dutchmen, Scotch-Irish, and Germans (§ 68) joined with the descendants of the English in building up the new western states.

176. How they Reached the West. — To reach the new settlements emigrants had to cross a broad belt of rugged hills or mountains, usually in wagons drawn by oxen. Six weeks was considered good time for the six-hundred-mile journey from central New England to northern Ohio, for the roads were swampy and full of stumps. The shallower streams could be forded; and many of the settlers used the "Conestoga wagon," (page 220), which had a seamless and watertight body shaped much like a boat, so that if the ford was too deep the wagon would float. Some provisions were carried; others were bought on the road; and game and fish caught during the journey added to the pleasure of the meals.

Women and small children were generally carried, but hundreds of thousands of people walked all the way. There were wagon roads across the mountains, through Bedford, Pennsylvania, and through Cumberland, Maryland; and a direct road into Kentucky was made in 1792. Provisions and supplies could be carried on packhorses, but most settlers, when they reached their new home, had nothing except the clothing they stood in, and a little bedding.

Boat travel was a great relief when a big river was reached. Down the Ohio floated countless rafts on which were built

little houses with open fires; but a favorite craft was the "keel boat," twenty or thirty feet long, with a cabin. The travelers found the Ohio River crooked and rapid, and the danger from Indians and river pirates made a voyage exciting.

The flatboat took the place of the modern wagon, trolley car, and automobile. A French traveler who was much interested in the flatboats of the Monongahela says: "I could not conceive what these large square boxes were, which, abandoned to the current, presented by turns, their ends, their sides, and their corners . . . I at length discovered several families in these boats, which also conveyed their horses, their cows, their poultry, their dismantled carriages, their plows, their harness, their beds, their agricultural tools."

177. The Steamboat. — Nothing has more changed the conditions of life both in the East and in the West than the wide use of the steam engine. It takes the power which is stored in wood, coal, or oil, and puts it into a form in which it can be used for factories, mines, transportation, and farm work.

Steam engines had been used to work pumps in English mines ever since about 1700. The first practical steam engine which could drive machinery was built about 1760 by the Englishman James Watt; but such an engine could transfer its power only a few yards.

Why not put an engine on a vessel and make it turn a paddle wheel, to move the craft along? This idea occurred to several inventors in America and abroad;

but the first man to build a steamboat that would pay a profit to its owners was Robert Fulton of New York. In 1807 he fitted an English engine to a paddle-wheel boat called the *Clermont*, which ran on the Hudson River against



First western steamer, built in 1811



Pioneer families moving west across the Appalachians in a Conestoga wagon

wind and tide and current. This solved the problem, and in a few years steamboats were running on many of the eastern rivers.

In 1811 Nicholas Roosevelt and others of New York built the steamer *New Orleans* at Pittsburgh; and after the War of 1812 steamers spread through all the larger western streams. The westerners worked out a type of very shallow boat, with side wheels or stern wheels, some of which would run in two feet of water, and could push far up into the back country.

Boats of a different type were built for the Great Lakes, and after the Erie Canal was finished in 1825, the traveler could go all the way from New York to the head of Lake Michigan by Hudson River steamers, by horse-drawn canal boats, and then by lake steamers. This system of travel helped to build up Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

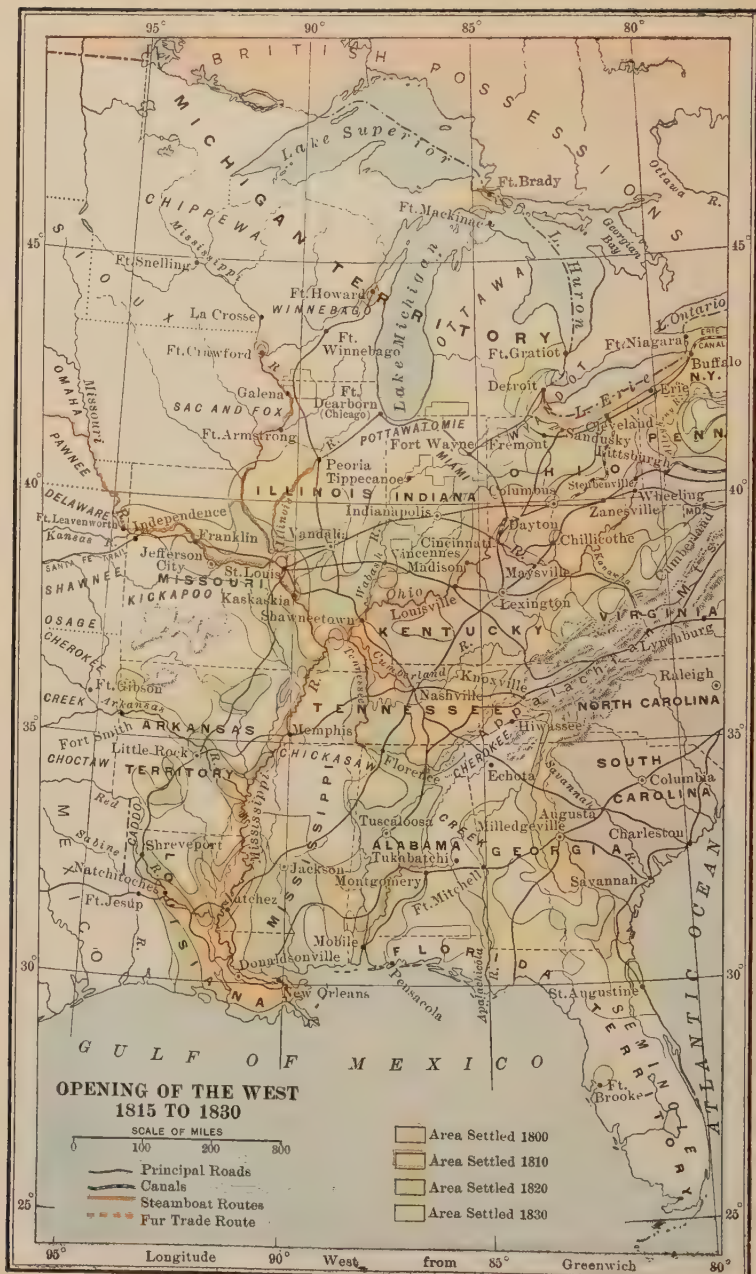
178. Pioneers at Home.

— Once arrived, the pioneer and his family usually lived in a one- or two-roomed cabin with a loft overhead and a chimney with a big fireplace, which was the center of



The early settlers built temporary shelters, called "half-faced camps"

family life, just as it had been in early colonial days (§ 53). When Abraham Lincoln as a boy moved to Indiana, he lived for a time in a "half-faced camp," which was simply a room without any front, with a fire of logs built just outside of the opening. After their first hardships, the western people, especially north of the Ohio, had a good supply of food; they could raise, or trade for, wheat, barley, corn, rye, and buckwheat. Their orchards and gardens furnished fruit and vegetables. From the hard maples the farmer made his own delicious maple sugar. Cattle were kept everywhere, and that meant a supply of milk and



butter; every few weeks somebody would "kill," and all the neighboring families got pieces of the meat. Hogs abounded and the settlers had plenty of hams, bacon, salt pork, and sausages.

As soon as people became fairly well off they built frame houses, especially on the Western Reserve, where the neighbors joined together in "house-raising", that is, they set up solid frames of squared oak beams fastened together with wooden pins. Such frames, when covered with clapboards, made houses some of which are as good now as they were a hundred years ago.

Clothing cost little money but much labor. Many farmers, north and south, kept sheep, and from the annual spring shearing the women spun yarn on those big wheels which are now curiosities in museums.

Many of them grew flax, and spun the fiber on the small spinning wheels. Then, with their old-fashioned wooden hand looms, the women made cloth of woolen or "linsey-woolsey"; that is, of mixed wool and flax (§ 82). In the South they made clothing out of homespun cotton cloth dyed with butternut juice.

To show what they could do, farmers sometimes sheared a fleece of wool from the sheep's back in the morning, and by



After the harvest came the husking bee, when the farmer and his neighbors met for a social evening

the evening it had been washed, carded, spun, woven, dyed, cut, sewed, and was being worn. Children needed no elaborate clothes; many little ones wore nothing but a tow shirt. Most children went barefoot a good part of the year, to their great delight. Shoes were worn during cold weather and on Sunday.

The southern mountains were settled chiefly by those who were satisfied with poor land, far from towns and highways. Visitors to these mountains may still see just what frontier life was a hundred years ago, for many mountaineers now live in poor cabins, are poorly fed, and are clad in garments of cloth made by their own spinning and weaving.

The settlers outside of the mountain districts had a livelier life, because new people were always coming in and gathering in the little towns. Young people had their frolics and dances, husking bees and kissing games. Hunting was a favorite amusement, for there were still deer and bear in most parts of the country, and prodigious pigeon roosts, where thousands of birds alighted till they sometimes broke down the branches of trees with their weight.

179. Health and Disease. — The western people ought to have been healthy, for they spent most of their working hours out of doors and slept in rooms full of cracks and openings, which gave opportunity for plenty of fresh air. Nevertheless the bane of the frontier was disease. Rheumatism was a fearful evil which disabled strong men and women. Mosquitoes caused fever and ague, often called "chills" or "shakes," which descended upon the pioneer in many varieties. People heard that "Peruvian bark"—that is, quinine—would cure the chills, but it was hard to procure.

Another dread of the frontier was accident. When men were crushed by falling trees or by wagons, or were injured by bullets, they were attended by unskillful doctors with rough surgery. The country doctor was the only dentist, and used a tool shaped like a log hook when he pulled the aching teeth.

The birth rate was high, and the older children in a large family helped to bring up the younger ones; every strong boy

and willing girl added to the family forces. The death rate also was very high, for weak people wore out under the hardships, and doctors did not know how to fight disease. It was a maxim that "you must starve a fever"; hence thousands of patients died after the fever had gone and just when they needed strengthening food, because their loving friends would not give them enough to eat.

Smallpox was still a dreadful curse; thousands died of it, and in every part of the country were many "pock-marked" people who bore for life the scars of the disease. About 1796 Edward Jenner, an English doctor, made the wonderful discovery that if he took a bit of the matter from a kind of sore on a cow, and pushed it into a scratch of the skin, it would cause a slight illness; after this the person thus "vaccinated" was almost free from the danger of smallpox. Gradually the practice of vaccination was spread among the people, so that nowadays smallpox is a rare disease.

180. Western Towns. — For many years the West was almost entirely a farming region, but parts of the northwestern states were planted by New England people in just such villages as those from which they came. In both the North and the South little towns sprang up as posts for trade with the Indians and settlers, or as county seats. These new towns grew rapidly and so did the old places, such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, St. Louis, and Mobile. Cincinnati was for more than half a century the largest city in the Northwest. Cleveland was founded in 1796 on Lake Erie at the mouth of the muddy little Cuyahoga River. St. Paul, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi, became a flourishing frontier trading post.

Farther south sprang up such towns as Louisville at the falls of the Ohio, Memphis and Natchez on the Mississippi, and Shreveport on the Red River. New Orleans was the exchange point between the up-river steamboats and the sea-going ships, and was the largest and richest southwestern city. It was a gay and lively place, in which more than half the people lived in the French quarter, spoke French, and had their own stores, markets, and theaters.

Many of the western cities received striking names. Some were named by the French, for example, Vincennes, La Crosse, and St. Louis; some bore Indian names, such as Chicago; some were named for famous men such as Columbus and Madison. Some of the names were fanciful, such as the original name of Cincinnati, which was "Losantiville": "L" for Licking, "os" for mouth, "anti" for across, and "ville" for town; that is, "The town opposite the mouth of the Licking."

Most of the western towns were poorly built, dirty, unpaved, and infested with pigs and other animals, which were allowed to run the streets. A traveler who visited Pittsburgh in 1789 says of it: "The Towne at that time was the muddiest place that I ever was in; and by reason of using so much Coal, being a great manufacturing place & kept in so much smoke & dust, as to affect the skin of the inhabitants."

181. Western Churches. — Both in the Northwest and in the Southwest most of the settlers came from church-building and church-going communities in the East. Nevertheless many of the frontiersmen were rough and godless. Good missionary work was done by such men as the Episcopal Bishop Chase of Ohio, and the Congregationalist home missionary Timothy Flint. The Methodists and Baptists were great civilizers of the frontier, and made use of the so-called "circuit riders." These were eager young ministers, who had a round of little churches, and rode from one to another to preach.

A western invention that is still in use was the "camp meeting," which was part picnic, part summer vacation, and part revival meeting. A visitor says: "The notice has been circulated two or three months. On the appointed day, coaches, chaises, wagons, carts, people on horseback, and multitudes traveling from a distance on foot, wagons with provisions, mattresses, tents, and arrangements for the stay of a week, were seen hurrying from every point toward the central spot. . . . The ambitious and wealthy were there, because in this region religion is all-powerful . . . Aspirants for office are there, to electioneer, and gain popularity. . . . The young and the beautiful are there, with mixed motives, which it were best not severely to criticize."

At the camp meetings and in the churches the gospel was preached with great energy; the hearers were pointedly reminded of their sins and of the danger of everlasting punishment. Many converts went through the "power," a sort of fit into which the sinner fell, and after which he felt that he was saved. Or they might be taken with the "jerks," which was a nervous twitching. Reverend Peter Cartwright, a Methodist leader, says that he once noticed among his congregation "two very finely dressed fashionable ladies, attended by two brothers with loaded horsewhips — while I was preaching the congregation melted to tears — and both the young ladies took the jerks and they were greatly mortified about it." The horsewhips were ready for the minister, but he frightened the brothers away.

182. Summary. — This chapter is devoted to the settlement, growth, and life of the people of the West, from about 1790 until about the year 1830.

Of the three sections of the Union the West was the newest. It was settled by people from the eastern states, with a few foreign immigrants, in a rich and bountiful part of the world, well watered and supplied with navigable rivers. The northern Indians quickly gave way before the increasing tide of people, but the southern Indians were for years a danger.

Part of the emigrants to the West were strong and vigorous people, others were shiftless. People went west at first on foot, with some pack and riding horses. As soon as roads were opened they used wagons, but it was a long and tedious journey across the lonely mountains. Once over, they reached the navigable western rivers and lakes, which soon after 1811 were traversed by steamboats.

The western pioneers provided for most of their own wants; they grew their own food and made their own clothing. They enjoyed a rude plenty, but the whole region was cursed with disease, especially the dreaded malaria, commonly called chills and fever. Lively towns sprang up throughout the West. A great work was done by the frontier churches and missionaries, who in their services and camp meetings excited their hearers, but after all made them better men and women.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 172) 1. What were the sections of the Union down to 1830? 2. What was the geographical situation of the West? 3. What were the western forests? 4 (For an essay). Early voyages on the western rivers.

(§ 173) 5. What were the northwestern Indian tribes? 6. The southwestern? 7. How did the United States government treat the Indians?

(§ 174) 8 (For an essay). Life among the Indians. 9. What kind of towns did they build? 10. How did they treat their prisoners?

(§ 175) 11. How fast did the West grow? 12. What kinds of settlers lived there? 13. What non-English people went to the early West?

(§ 176) 14 (For an essay). Account of an early journey to the West. 15. What sort of roads led to the West? 16. How were the rivers traveled? 17 (For an essay). An early boat voyage on a western river.

(§ 177) 18. When and how were steam engines invented? 19 (For an essay). The first voyage of Fulton's steamboat *Clermont*. 20 (For an essay). Account of an early steam voyage on a western river or lake.

(§ 178) 21. How did the pioneers find food? 22. How did they build houses? 23. How was clothing made at the frontier? 24 (For an essay). Life in the southern mountains. 25. What were the amusements of the pioneers?

(§ 179) 26. What were the principal frontier diseases and remedies?

(§ 180) 27. How did towns spring up? 28. What were the principal early western towns? 29. How were they built and improved?

(§ 181) 30. What churches early appeared on the frontier? 31 (For an essay). Early camp meetings. 32. What were the methods of the ministers?

CHAPTER XVII

HOW THE NATION CAME TOGETHER (1815-1829)

183. New Conditions (1815). — After 1815 Americans began to realize the wealth of this country. The western prairies had been thought to be plains so barren that trees would not grow on them; the settlers soon found that they were covered by very rich black soil. Miners had long been producing lead in western Illinois and iron in Pennsylvania; and coal now began to be used on a large scale, first for heating houses and for forges, and then as fuel for making steam. As the population grew, there was a great demand for timber for building houses, fences, steamboats, and ships.

The mines and forests furnished raw material for making iron and machines; and factories sprang up for spinning and weaving the wool and cotton, which were produced in great quantities. To run these factories, dams were built across large streams such as the Merrimack, the Hudson, and the James, which furnished large water powers.

Now that larger crops were raised, more ore mined, more lumber sawed, more goods manufactured, it became necessary to provide means for carrying all these products to market. Hence there was a period of "internal improvements"; that is, of building roads and digging canals.

Shipbuilding and ship sailing continued to be the greatest and most profitable lines of business. Besides the coasting trade there was a lively trade with the West Indies and with other Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

This was a time of profitable commerce with China and southern Asia (§ 146). From such ports as Newburyport, Salem, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore smart vessels set sail for Canton, Batavia, or Calcutta. They carried out fish, flour, tobacco, and ginseng, a root much esteemed in China; they brought back silks, porcelains, teas, and spices.

Youths, such as Robert Forbes, went to sea when fifteen years old, came back in a few years captains of vessels, and lived to write entertaining accounts of their own lives. The heavy shipowners, such as the Grays and Bertrams of Salem, the Forbeses of Boston, and the Lows and Graces of Brooklyn, owned small fleets and made great fortunes. Young men were often sent along as supercargoes to buy and sell the

cargoes. They brought magnificent furniture, jars, and dinner sets to their friends, and made profits which were the foundation of their own fortunes.



New England fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland

184. National Aid to Business.— In the Congress of 1815–1817 President Madison, with Clay, Calhoun, and their friends, put through several acts of Congress in

aid of business, of which the first was a new tariff (§ 141). During and after the embargo of 1807 (§ 161) foreign trade was so disturbed that some of the vessel owners put their profits into small factories for making cotton and woolen goods, iron, and other manufactures. After the war, foreign goods were brought over in great quantities, and the new factories declared that without a higher rate of duty on imports they could not compete with foreign merchants. Accordingly, in 1816 the first tariff was passed which was intended to build up American manufactures.

According to modern ideas the rates were very low, ranging from about 15 per cent to 30 per cent; that is, a tax amounting to a fifth or three tenths of the original cost of the imports

had to be paid as duties. The new tariff was a popular act in the South and the West, but was opposed in New England, which still preferred to build and sail ships.

The purpose of this "protection" act was to raise the prices of foreign-made goods, so that the American manufacturer could get a price which would enable him to keep in business. Some statesmen expected only that the tariff would keep "infant industries" alive till they became established and could get on without the aid of tariffs. Some were interested in making sure that goods and supplies needed in case of war should be produced here. Some wanted to keep out permanently all foreign goods that could be made in the United States. Henry Clay believed in an American System, by which the American people should do everything for themselves.

On the other hand, the shipping interests opposed a high tariff because they made their profits out of a large trade with foreign countries. The farming class had to pay higher prices for their goods because of the tariff, and they were made no richer by the profits of the manufacturers. The middle states and western farmers, however, favored a tariff because of the "home market" argument; that is, they thought they would get higher prices for their produce if manufacturing cities and towns grew up, with a class of wage hands who must buy their food of the farmers.

185. Second United States Bank (1816). — It will be remembered how the early corporations were formed (§ 142). The system was extended by the states to many kinds of business, such as mining and manufacturing companies, city gas and water companies, canal companies, water power companies, and fur companies.

The state banks, which were corporations chartered by state legislatures, were especially useful; and all young Americans ought to understand what they did for the business man. (1) They received "deposits"; that is, surplus money waiting to be needed in business, or to be invested. (2) They paid "checks"; that is, written orders for money lying on deposit. (3) They granted "discounts": that is, loans to busi-

ness men, usually for terms of only a few months. (4) They made "exchanges"; that is, took a man's money at one place, and agreed to pay it at another place. (5) They issued "bank notes"; that is, their own promises to pay, in paper dollars or multiples of a dollar. These notes were paid out or lent by the banks. They passed from hand to hand as money, till somebody presented them at the bank to be "redeemed"; that is, to be paid to the holder in gold or silver.

In 1816 there were about 250 state banks. Many were not able to redeem their notes, and some were frauds, but most of them were reliable and honest. For instance, it was noticed that notes were in circulation from a certain country bank in Rhode Island. A quantity of the notes were presented in a lump at the bank, which proved to be a blacksmith's forge. The blacksmith, who was the president of the corporation, was equal to the emergency, dug a keg of specie out of the cinders, and was able to redeem the notes and save his bank.

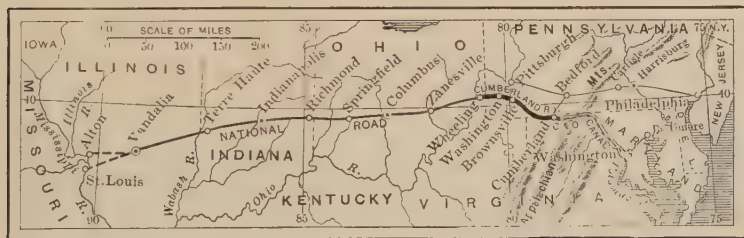
The first United States Bank (§ 142) expired in 1811, and President Madison and his advisers felt that there ought to be another, for a bank chartered by Congress ought to be better and safer than a state bank. Therefore, in 1816 a second United States Bank was chartered with what was then the immense capital of \$35,000,000. The federal government owned one fifth of the stock, and granted to the bank the right to set up branches in any state. The act committed the government to the two theories that banks were a good thing and that Congress ought to help business.

186. Erie Canal (1817-1825). — The increase of trade called the attention of the country to the bad state of the public roads. Congress was willing to grant money for this need; but President Madison prevented it by a veto, because he thought that roads and canals ought to be built by the states and not by the Union (1817).

The hint was taken in New York, where people had been talking for years about a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie; and they elected De Witt Clinton governor of New York in order to put it through. He hoped that the federal government would give assistance, but when that plan was

dropped the state began to dig the canal at its own expense. Navigation from New York to Albany through the Hudson River was easy; then the canal followed the Mohawk Valley and was raised by locks at intervals as far as the summit near Utica, 425 feet above the sea. After crossing the Genesee River at Rochester on a high viaduct it ran along on a sort of terrace south of Lake Ontario, and rose to a second summit of 568 feet at Lockport. Thence it ran on the same level to the Niagara River just below Lake Erie.

Work began in 1817, and at the end of eight years the canal was open all the way through. It was 363 miles long and cost about \$7,000,000, which was more than paid back by the tolls during the first ten years of its use. Though frozen over about a third of every year, the Erie Canal furnished a cheap communication between the Lakes with their steamers, and the harbor of New York with its foreign commerce. The result was that New York at once became the richest and largest city in the Union.



The Cumberland Road, and the National Road

187. Cumberland Road (1811-1829). — The only large internal improvement carried out by the United States government was the Cumberland Road, which reached from the upper Potomac across the Appalachian Mountains to the Ohio River. These broad and rugged mountains were a great obstacle to western emigrants. To avoid them a route passed through the Mohawk Valley to Buffalo and then south of Lake Erie; another circled southward through the valleys of the Shenandoah and the upper James rivers, and by Boone's old trace (§ 73) to the Ohio River. The Cumberland Road was part of a third route to the Ohio River.

Secretary Gallatin (§ 144), who was a western man and understood the needs of the West, secured an act (1803) providing that part of the money received for public lands in the West might be used to build roads which would reach those lands and so help to sell them. Jefferson cordially approved, and in 1806 Congress began to appropriate money for that purpose. In 1819 a road was finished to the Ohio River. The road, which is still in use, is 150 miles long, from Cumberland on the Potomac, across the "Little Yock" (Castelman's Run), "Big Yock" (Youghiogeny), and the Monongahela to Wheeling on the Ohio River. It crosses four mountain ridges, the highest being 2300 feet above the sea. The road is well built with many stone-arched bridges, and cost about \$1,700,000. Till railroads were built across the mountains, it was the best through route from the East to the West, and was used by stage lines, freight wagons, and immense droves of cattle. An extension usually called the "National Road" was built from Wheeling through Ohio toward St. Louis.



A beautiful bridge on the Cumberland Road

188. Free and Slave States (1789-1820). — After Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812 (§ 157), there were nine free states and nine slaveholding states. The population in the free states and territories grew faster than in the slaveholding section, and the North had more members than the South in the national House of Representatives. Nevertheless, of the next four new states admitted (map, page 239), two were slaveholding and two were free:

(1) Indiana was settled partly from New England and New York; but the southern counties were taken up by settlers from the southern states. The two groups disagreed on the question of slavery, but they combined to form a free state government, and were admitted to the Union in 1816 as the 19th state, with 75,000 inhabitants.

(2) Mississippi included some of the richest bottom land in the whole country and attracted settlers from all the slaveholding states. It had the special advantage of frontage on the river that was the great commercial route of the period. Mississippi was admitted as the 20th state in 1817 with about 50,000 inhabitants.

(3) Illinois drew many immigrants from the slaveholding states of Virginia and Kentucky, and there were some slaves in the southern part of the territory. The state abounded in the richest land and had a splendid situation between Lake Michigan and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. When admitted in 1818 as the 21st state, it contained about 40,000 people.

(4) Alabama for a time grew up more slowly than Mississippi because the northern part was broken and even mountainous, but in 1819 there were about 100,000 people in the territory and it was admitted as the 22d state. It included several navigable rivers and a splendid sea front on Mobile Bay.

189. The Sections and Slavery (1816-1819). — By this careful balancing in admitting states the Senate was equally divided between northern and southern members. The South could rely on nearly every southern member's voting in favor of slavery, and could count also on a few northern votes. The old South and the new southwestern states joined to

make a larger South. In like manner the northwestern states and the old North were drawn together as one North.

For a long time slavery was looked upon as a labor problem; the main question was, Does it pay? Gradually a strong feeling arose against it on moral grounds. Many slaveholders, among them Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, opposed it. In the middle and southern states antislavery societies were formed, and gathered every few years in a meeting known as the "General Convention," which urged the southern states gradually to set the slaves free.

190. Cotton Culture. — This southern movement against slavery might have been successful but for the growing importance of cotton. Tobacco was no longer very profitable; it wore out the land. Rice was a small crop, grown only on the seacoast of South Carolina and Georgia. Cotton could be grown in the lowlands from southern Virginia to western Louisiana, and there was a foreign demand for it at high prices.

Cotton was an American plant, but it was long neglected in the United States because it took so much labor to pick out the seeds. In 1794 a Connecticut schoolmaster, Eli Whitney, invented a "gin," a handy machine that would do the work of fifty slaves in seeding cotton. This machine changed the whole industry. Thousands of acres were planted, and rude slave labor proved available for cotton, because it required much hoeing, thinning, and picking, and kept the laborer busy the whole year round. The North also was a great gainer from the cotton gin, for it furnished an abundant supply of material for the cloth-making mills.

Prices ran high till 1820, usually about 20 cents a pound, which gave a large profit. About half to two thirds of every annual crop was sent to Europe; nearly all the rest went to the northern states, for the South for many years had no success at manufacturing cotton cloth. English workmen and mill masters brought over machinery to the northern states; and mills were built at Pawtucket and Providence in Rhode Island, at Cohoes in New York, at Philadelphia, and at many other places. New power looms were invented, and the mills were run with steam or water power.

A historical map of the central United States, titled "MISSOURI COMPROMISE 1820". The map shows the Missouri River, the Mississippi River, and the Arkansas River. It delineates the "FREE BY" territory (north of the Missouri River), the "MISSOURI COMPROMISE" line (at 36°30'N), and the "OPEN" territory (south of the Missouri River). Key locations include St. Louis, Pikes Pl., Jefferson City, and Little Rock. The map also shows the "UNORGANIZED TERRITORY" and the "FREE BY" territory. A scale of miles is provided at the bottom.

A test of the feeling of Congress came in 1820, when the people of Missouri Territory asked to be admitted into the Union as a slaveholding state. The lower valley of the Missouri River contained some land well adapted for slave labor. The territory was western in spirit, but slavery had existed there for a hundred years, and incoming planters brought slaves from other states. If Missouri became a slave state the slavery system might spread northwest into the whole valley of the Missouri River. Hence the majority of the House of Representatives refused to admit Missouri except as a free state.

The question was tangled by the action of the people of Maine, which was then a part of Massachusetts. The Maine people had other interests than those of the parent state, and Massachusetts consented to their forming a separate state.

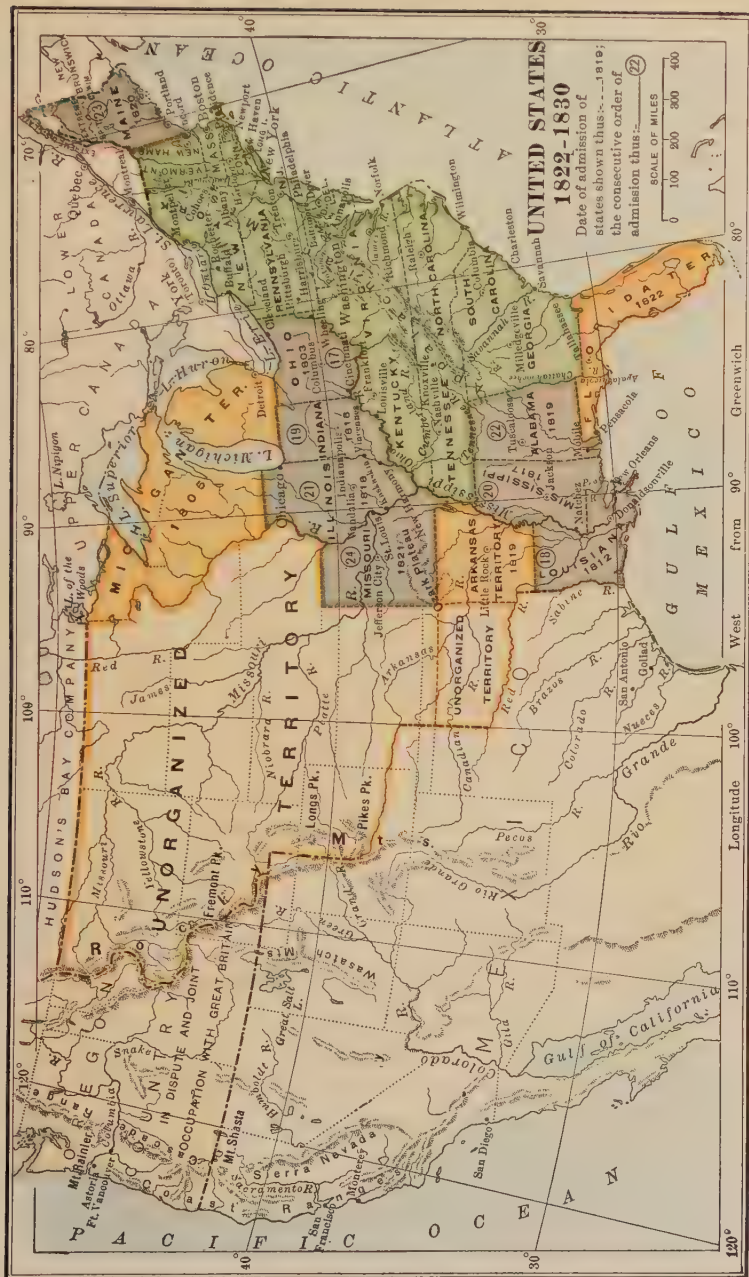
If both the new states came into the Union without slavery, the South would lose its equal vote in the Senate; and perhaps no more slave states would be admitted to the Union. There-

fore, the majority of the Senate refused to admit Maine at all, unless Missouri were made a slave state. The deadlock was broken by the famous "Missouri Compromise," which was to the following effect: (1) Maine was admitted (1820) as a free state (23d in the Union) with 300,000 people; and Missouri was admitted (1821) as a slave state with 67,000 population (24th state in the Union). (2) Slavery was forbidden "forever" in every part of the territory ceded by France north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, excepting the state of Missouri.

192. Russian America and Latin America (1809-1822). — Besides Great Britain, Spain, and the United States, a new power began to assert its claim to a share of North America about the time of the War of 1812. That was Russia, which many years earlier had planted little trading posts in what is now Alaska, then others farther south. In 1821 she claimed the whole Pacific coast north of the parallel of 51° .

Still more important was the appearance of a group of new Latin American countries, made up of former Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Nominally, Spain held all the coast of North and South America from Florida around to Puget Sound, except Louisiana, Brazil and the little colonies of British, French, and Dutch Guiana. The regular Spanish government was broken up by European wars (1809), and the colonies took care of themselves. After Napoleon's fall, Spain was ruled weakly and harshly, and again the colonies governed themselves; this time they meant to make themselves independent countries.

Among the leaders of the movement the two greatest were Simon Bolivar and José de San Martin. Bolivar broke up the Spanish power in what is now Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. San Martin formed a force in the La Plata region, made a heroic march across the mountains, and freed Chile. The two united in driving the Spanish out of Peru, their last stronghold in South America. After these revolutions, Mexico and Central America were the only Spanish colonies left on the mainland of North or South America. When they became independent in 1821, nothing was left of the once glorious



Spanish empire in America except the two islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

The new Spanish Americans included four race elements, all of which can still be found in Mexico and other Latin American countries: (1) A few Spaniards from Spain and some others



General Simon Bolivar, 1783-1830

of pure Spanish descent. (2) A larger number of a mixed Spanish and Indian race. (3) Indians, descended from the old Indian tribes, who were nowhere less than half of the whole population. (4) A small number of negroes and mixtures of negroes with Indians or whites, who were few. While under Spain, none of these elements had ever

had a chance to govern themselves, and in the hundred years that have since passed, few have learned that lesson.

The people of the United States welcomed the independence of Spanish America because they sympathized with the new republics, and because the Latin Americans had broken up the Spanish colonial system of commerce (§ 80) and were eager to trade with all the world. Henry Clay headed a movement for recognizing them as independent countries; and in 1822 Congress voted to do so, and President Monroe carried out the policy. Within a few years, seven new countries thus became our neighbors and sister republics. The Portuguese in South America set up the independent empire of Brazil, which was changed to a republic in 1889.

193. Monroe Doctrine (1819-1823). — During this break-up of the Spanish empire, the United States by treaty with Spain purchased the two Floridas (1819), and thenceforward held the whole ocean and gulf coast line from Maine to Louisiana. In this treaty the United States agreed upon a boundary across the plains and mountains from the Sabine River to the Pacific Ocean, and the Spaniards gave up all claims north of 42°. The Spanish colony of Mexico included Texas and California, and thus was the next-door neighbor to the United States.

Several great European powers, united in a sort of combine called the "Holy Alliance," thought it a bad lesson for their own peoples that Spaniards, even in America, should be allowed to set themselves free. Hence they were inclined to



Ruins of the San Jose Mission in Texas: begun in 1718; completed in 1771; visited by Lieutenant Pike in 1807

send over a fleet and army to recover the lost American provinces for Spain. The English wanted the new states to be free to trade with them; and George Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, recognized how much the friendship of the United States meant to his country. He therefore proposed (1823) that the two countries unite in a statement that they would not permit such an invasion.

On the advice of John Quincy Adams, who was Secretary of State, President Monroe took a different course. In his annual message of 1823 he included a statement which has ever since been known as the Monroe Doctrine, of which the main principles were as follows: (1) The new Latin American powers were independent, and Spain could never reconquer them. This was a fact. (2) All the territory in both the American continents was taken up by civilized countries, so that there was no room for any European nation to plant a new colony. This was intended as a warning to Russia. (3) European powers must not interfere with the Latin American states

"for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny." This danger still exists. (4) The "European political system" of combining to use force against revolutions must not be extended to America. This warning was heeded by European nations.

Monroe was trying to preserve peace in America. He argued that since the United States kept out of European quarrels, Europe must keep out of American concerns. The doctrine did its work: the plan of sending over a fleet and an army was given up; and with the exception of a French attack on Mexico in 1862, no European power has ever tried to conquer one of the American countries.

194. Era of Good Feeling (1821-1822). — The Federalist party expired about 1822 and a period came called the "Era of Good Feeling," because there were no rival parties. In fact, it was an era of bad feeling among the friends of several men who wished to be President. In 1824 there were four candidates. As nobody had a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives in 1825, partly under the influence of Henry Clay of Kentucky, chose John Quincy Adams, son of former President John Adams, over General Andrew Jackson.

Jackson's friends felt that their man had not been fairly treated, and did everything they could to make Adams's administration a failure. Almost the only debates that are now remembered were on the protective tariff (§ 184). In 1824 the import duties were somewhat raised; in 1828 a high tariff act was passed that was so unpopular that it was called the "Tariff of Abominations."

In the presidential election of 1828 Jackson was elected over Adams, by a combination of New York and Pennsylvania, nearly all the South, and every western state. He was chosen as a man of the people, particularly of the western people. The West at last had made its power felt in national politics.

195. Summary. — This chapter describes the business conditions and the new means of transportation between 1815 and 1829; it discusses the rivalry between the North and the South, and then the new American neighbors and the Monroe Doctrine.

When the United States was once free from its difficulties with European countries, it began to realize its wealth of land, timber, minerals, manufactures, and foreign trade, and the need of better means of transportation. Congress gave the manufacturers a new chance by a protective tariff, and founded a second United States Bank. New York built the Erie Canal, and the federal government built the Cumberland Road.

Slavery now began to divide the Union. Free and slave states were admitted in pairs, thus preserving an equal balance in the Senate. The strong movement against slavery in the South was checked by the increase of cotton growing, aided by Whitney's cotton gin. The issue between the sections was raised in a debate over the admission of Missouri as a slave state. By the Missouri Compromise of 1820 it was so admitted, but the rest of the Louisiana purchase was divided between freedom and slavery by an east and west line on $36^{\circ} 30'$.

A totally new question was presented by the advance of the Russians on the Pacific coast, and by the rise of new republics out of the ruins of the Spanish empire in America. The United States began to recognize these neighbors, and in 1823, by the Monroe Doctrine, gave notice to the world that no foreign powers could interfere with the new countries.

The old Federalist party died out, and the elections of 1824 and 1828 were fierce personal contests. Two tariffs were passed, considerably raising the scale of duties. In 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected, the first western President.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 183) 1. What were the principal elements of wealth on American soil? 2. How were raw materials used? 3. What were internal improvements? (See also § 186.) 4. What were the principal lines of foreign trade? 5. How did the vessel owners carry their goods?

(§ 184) 6. What was the tariff of 1816? 7. What was the object of a protective tariff? 8. How did the sections and classes look on the tariff?

(§ 185) 9. How were corporations extended? 10. How were banks useful to business? 11. What was the second United States Bank?

(§ 186) 12. How was the Erie Canal constructed? 13 (For an essay). Accounts of early voyages on the Erie Canal.

(§ 187) 14. What were the principal roads to the West? 15. What was Gallatin's plan for internal improvements? 16. How was the Cumberland Road constructed? 17 (For an essay). Accounts of early trips on the Cumberland Road.

(§ 188) 18. How was the balance of free and slave states brought about? (See also § 189.) 19. How and when was Indiana admitted to the Union? 20. How and when was Mississippi admitted? 21. How and when was Illinois admitted? 22. How and when was Alabama admitted?

(§ 189) 23. How did opposition to slavery arise?

(§ 190) 24. What were the principal southern crops? 25. What was the cotton gin? 26. Why was cotton a good crop for the South? 27. How were manufactures of cotton established?

(§ 191) 28. Why was there a controversy over making Missouri a slave state? 29. What was the Missouri Compromise?

(§ 192) 30. How did the Russians come into America? 31. What was the Spanish American empire? 32. How was the Spanish power destroyed? 33. What were the race elements in the Spanish American countries? 34. How did the United States look on the new Latin American countries?

(§ 193) 35. How did the United States extend its territory southward? 36. How was the western boundary of Louisiana settled? 37. What was the Holy Alliance? 38. How was England affected? 39. What was the original Monroe Doctrine? 40. What has been its effect?

(§ 194) 41. How did John Quincy Adams become President? 42. How did Andrew Jackson become President?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (1829-1860)

196. The Three Sections (1830). - By 1830 the three sections, North, South, and West (§ 172), had somewhat altered and stood about as follows:

(1) The North included the six New England and four middle states, with 5,500,000 inhabitants. It was much the most thickly settled section, and had the greatest variety of occupations, including most of the foreign trade, shipbuilding, and manufactures. It was well provided with schools, newspapers, libraries, colleges, and like means of culture.

(2) The South included Florida and the eight states from Maryland to Louisiana, lying on the ocean and gulf; and also the interior states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mis-



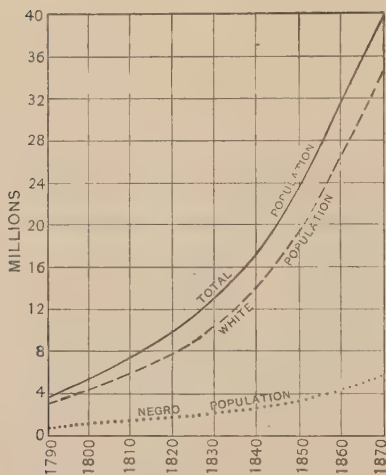
Wall Street magnates, about 1835, with the old watchdog of the Manhattan Company, a bank in the city of New York

souri, and the territory of Arkansas. Altogether the South contained about 6,000,000 inhabitants. Villages and towns were fewer than in the North, for most of the people lived in the open country. About half the land that was tilled in the South belonged to large slaveholding planters. However, a class of white farmers worked their own land, especially in the border states, lying next to the free states. The "mountain whites" and the "poor whites," who in some states were called "sand hillers," "red necks," or "hill billies," lived mostly on poor land, in the old backwoods fashion, and raised

hardly enough to feed and clothe their families. The South had few manufactures, fisheries, mines, or shipyards; and as the population was scattered it was hard to keep up schools, roads, and other means of civilization.

(3) The West still included parts of New York and Pennsylvania, but consisted chiefly of the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to which were later added Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In 1830 this West had 1,500,000 inhabitants. The states on the southwestern frontier felt themselves part of the South, especially because the Mississippi River was

their outlet. The northwesterners also used that river, but they enjoyed in addition a direct route to the Atlantic Ocean through the Erie Canal. Towns and cities grew up rapidly in the Northwest, and in time its timber and coal made it a manufacturing section. The West adopted the northern system of schools and churches, and shared in the northern desire for a protective tariff (§ 184).



Increase in population in the United States
from 1790 to 1870

197. Population. — The rapid growth of the United

States is one of the wonders of the world. From 1790 to 1890 it doubled about every 25 years; there were about 4 millions in 1790, about 8 millions in 1815, 16 millions in 1840, and 32 millions in 1865. Not all the sections grew equally fast. In 1830 the North and West had 7 millions, against 6 millions in the South. This difference was due in part to a larger natural increase in the North, and in part to the foreign immigrants who settled there.

In 1830 only a fourteenth of the people lived in cities; and of this "urban population" about five sixths was in the

North. New York was the largest city, with over 240,000 people. Next came Philadelphia and Boston. The largest southern cities were Baltimore (81,000), New Orleans (46,000), Charleston, and St. Louis. The only sizable western city in



St. Louis about 1850

1830 was Cincinnati with 25,000. Chicago was a hamlet, and Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Detroit were still small places.

198. Immigration. — The wage earners were increased by immigration, which caused one of the greatest changes in the history of the United States. Immigration from Europe never entirely ceased; and when the figures were first recorded in 1821, it brought 10,000 a year; in 1830 the influx was about 23,000. The voyage from Ireland required only from three to six weeks; and hard times there — especially the famine of 1846 — drove hundreds of thousands of the Irish people to seek new homes over sea. About the same time Germans began to come in large numbers, principally from northern and western Germany.

In 1825 about fifty Scandinavians, called the "Sloop-folk," made a direct voyage in a little vessel. Much later they were followed by thousands from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who found in Wisconsin and Minnesota a climate something like that of their own countries. Englishmen and Scotchmen easily made homes in America, and shared in the farm life, town life, and church life of the descendants of the English colonists.

These immigrants were a boon to the country. They included thousands of laborers who quickly found employment; for there was work for everybody in clearing the forests, building roads and canals, putting up buildings, and manning ships and factories. Many brought with them new ideas which the country needed, on good roads, on public buildings, on private dwellings, on amusements, on city life, on school and college education, and on politics.

The Irish and part of the Germans preferred the cities, and all the seaports and many of the interior cities soon contained thousands of immigrants. Their influence was little felt in the South, where cities and factories were few and where men who worked with their hands feared that they would be classed with the negro slave laborers.

199. Religion and Churches. — The great national church organizations described in an earlier chapter (§ 134) continued; but some new forms of worship were brought in by the immigrants, who were Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish Protestants, German Lutherans, Scotch Free Presbyterians, and other sects. The Catholics, whether English, French, Irish, or German, at once became members of the Catholic Church of the United States.

Some of the old national churches were divided, and many new local sects sprang up. The Presbyterian Church divided into what were called the Old School and the New School; off from the New School split a small antislavery body called the Free Presbyterian Church. The Methodists split, because of the slavery question, into the Methodist Church and the Methodist Church South.

Out on the frontier, emotional religious methods were still popular (§ 181). City churches grew rich, put up handsome buildings, bought organs, stained-glass windows, and parsonages. Evangelists — that is, ministers or laymen who spent their lives in trying to arouse people to lead a better life — went through the country. Many other preachers were famed for their eloquence and were leaders in reform. Among them were Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn; Father Taylor, the sailors' preacher of Boston; Charles G. Finney, the western

evangelist; Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky; and Archbishop Hughes of New York.

The Roman Catholic Church had for centuries kept up missions for the heathen (§ 38). In 1806 some students at Williams College started the "Haystack Movement" for Protestant missions — so named from the place of the first conference. Church boards were formed, money was raised, and missionaries were sent all over the world. They went to Africa, to the Pacific Islands where almost the whole people of the Hawaiian group forsook their idols, to India, to Turkey, to China, and to the Indians in the West. The "home missionaries" worked in the struggling settlements on the frontier. All sections — North, South, and West — took part in this movement and hoped that within a hundred years the whole world would turn to Christianity.

200. Communities and Brotherhoods. — A like spirit of union and common effort was shown in societies and secret orders. The Masons formed lodges before the Revolution, and Washington was a member of the order. Against them rose an Antimasonic political party (1826) based on the idea that the order was opposed to good and just government. The Masons recovered from this attack, and other orders sprang up alongside of it, such as the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Druids, the Foresters, the Hibernians, the Red Men, and the B'nai B'rith. There were also secret college societies, of which the Phi Beta Kappa was the first.

Another group of societies was engaged in reform work, such as abolishing imprisonment for debt, securing the rights of women, and especially promoting temperance. The Washingtonian societies were first in this field and their members pledged themselves to be moderate in using alcoholic drinks. This was soon followed by a total-abstinence movement, much aided by the agitation of the Catholic Father Matthew and by the order of Good Templars. The movement reached the state legislatures, and in 1851 the state of Maine passed the "Maine Law" forbidding the sale of liquor to anybody.

Alongside the societies were individual reformers such as Dorothea Dix, an angel of mercy who went from state to

state, pleading with legislatures to treat the insane as sick people who needed hospitals, and not as dangerous criminals who must be kept in order by abuse and torture.

In many parts of the Union, "communities" were founded (§ 55); that is, settlements of men and women who agreed to live together, holding their property in common, and sharing the proceeds of their labor. One of the best-known communities was Brook Farm near Boston, in which some of the keenest-witted people of New England tried living together, doing their own housework and farm work, and spending the rest of their time in what they called "plain living and high thinking." Nearly all these communities broke down, for the inmates grew tired of living by rule and went back to their own family life.

201. Morals and Crime. — Churches and reformers did not save the country from crimes and punishments. Public whipping and branding were still in use in a few southern states as punishments for small offenses. In the national navy as well as on merchant ships, sailors were tied up and whipped for trivial acts. Prisoners were looked upon as a kind of public enemy. Throughout the Union most of the prisons were abodes of cruelty, except that in Pennsylvania there was a model jail where each of the prisoners was put in a cell by himself.

The cities were very disorderly, for they had no regular police, and desperate riots were frequent. In 1834 the Ursuline Convent near Boston was destroyed by a Protestant mob. A favorite amusement of college students and of town boys was to engage in "town and gown riots," which were a sort of free fight. The name lynching, which was long applied only to a whipping (§ 108), was now used to mean a killing. A mob would seize a man whom they supposed to have committed a crime and, without waiting for proof or for the action of the courts, would put him to death, sometimes with dreadful tortures. The first notable speech of young Abraham Lincoln was a warning that lynchings broke down the sense of justice and respect for law.

In all parts of the country weak and helpless people were ill-treated. Children were severely whipped by their parents,

apprentices by their masters, sailors by their officers. Many factory hands were overworked and underpaid. Children were forced to work long hours. Convicts and the insane were often fearfully abused.

202. Labor. — The United States included many farmers, sailors, shipowners, and large numbers of mechanics and factory hands. In New England the farmers' sons and daughters came into the little mill towns, and ran the looms and other mill machinery. Another large group was that of men employed in transportation, such as canal boatmen, teamsters,



An early labor parade by the butchers of Philadelphia

freight handlers and loaders, and roadmakers. Every year new opportunities of many kinds were opened up for wage earners.

Men and women had hard work in those days. Farmers and their hired hands worked from sunrise to sunset, and the ordinary time of workmen was from 72 to 84 hours a week. Women and children often worked from 60 to 70 hours. Wages were low; unskilled laborers could earn from 50 cents to 75 cents a day; and carpenters and blacksmiths did well if they made a dollar and a half.

The factories were still small, but some kinds of work—especially shoemaking—were sent out to New England farmers, who finished up the shoes as winter work. In the South and West, hand spinning and weaving were still common (§ 178). Provisions were cheap, and the standard of living for all classes was modest, so that workmen were better off than their wages would seem to show.

In the South the negroes still carried on most of the trades, such as the work of carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths. If their master had no work for them on his own plantation, he would hire them out to a neighbor or to an employer in a town. For household tasks there was practically nobody except negro slaves, and the only way to be sure of a cook or a laundress was to buy her. There is even a tale that a negro congregation once bought and paid for the minister that they wanted.

Most of the slaves, whether men, women, or half-grown children, were employed in the fields. The cost of their keep was not heavy—not more than \$15 to \$25 a year each. They ate coarse food, wore cheap clothing, and required no extras except, perhaps, some presents at Christmas time. But it cost a great deal of money to buy slaves. In 1830 they were worth possibly an average of \$350 each. When working on rich new soil, such as was found in the "black belt" of central Alabama or the bottoms of the Yazoo River, slaves made money for their masters. But on poor land it was hard for the planter to make both ends meet; two negro slaves might do less work in a day than one hired white laborer in the North.

203. Slave Life.—Slaves might be considered only a special kind of laborers, but they were also a part of the whole social system of the South. Most slaves were ignorant, though kind-hearted mistresses and children would teach favorite slaves to read and write. They usually had sufficient food, but lived in poor and scanty quarters; a two-room house for a family of eight or ten negroes was thought generous. The slaves had some home life, but the members of a family might be sold away from each other.

The slave had little reason for working hard and being faithful. There was no promise of higher wages, for he had no wages. A fugitive slave was once brought before a judge and admitted that he had been well fed, well treated, and never punished. "Then why did you run away?" asked the judge. The reply was, "Well, massa, de situation am vacant!" In other words, he ran away for the same reasons that a white man would have run away; any kind of freedom was better to him than the easiest slavery.

It is not strange that slaves were sometimes cruelly treated. In those days prisoners and paupers were often

ill treated. The object of a master was to make his slaves work and obey, whether they felt like it or not. If they refused, the master or overseer had to flog them or let them be idle. Sensible masters would not injure the value of a slave by too severe punishment.

204. Abolitionists. — After 1830 the antislavery societies and conventions of religious bodies in the South ceased to protest against slavery, and the attack on it was transferred to the North. "Emancipation" usually meant a slow and gradual process of setting the slaves free. "Abolition" meant setting them free immediately. In 1831 appeared the most ardent abolitionist of the time, a young Massachusetts printer named William Lloyd Garrison, who founded a newspaper called the *Liberator*. In it he fiercely and often unreasonably attacked slaveholders, whether they were bad masters or good masters. "On this subject," said Garrison,

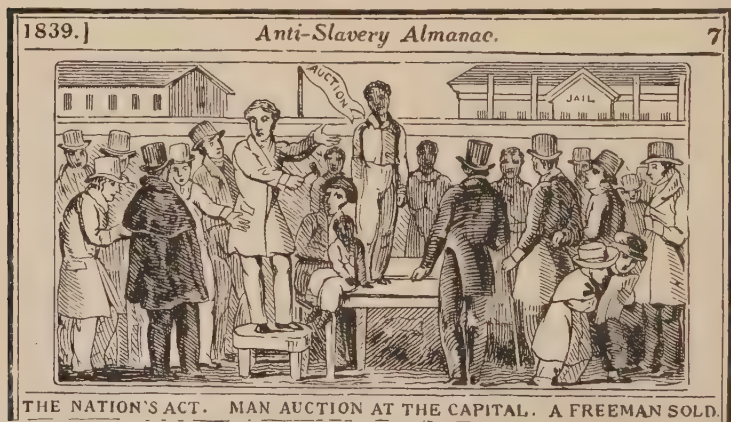


Old slave huts at the Hermitage Plantation, Savannah, Georgia

"I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation."

Three sectional groups of abolitionists soon appeared: (1) Garrison organized a national antislavery society, principally of New England people. He was joined by John G. Whittier, the poet; Charles Sumner, later a Senator; Wendell Phillips, a remarkable orator; Lucretia Mott, a Quakeress; and many others. Garrison went so far as to argue that the North ought to secede from the Union, so as to get away from what he thought was the sin of slavery. His movement was very unpopular, the more so because women joined in the meetings and made speeches.

(2) Some of the abolitionists in the middle states broke away in 1840 and formed a separate antislavery society. Among them was Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York, a wealthy man who gave large tracts of land to freed negroes. This group of abolitionists kept up newspapers and meetings of their own, and they stood by the Union, but thought it ought to be a Union free from slavery.



Part of a page in an early antislavery almanac

(3) Another group of abolitionists appeared in the West, especially among settlers from New England. The Western Reserve of northern Ohio sent to Congress Joshua R. Gid-

dings, who was the first out-and-out abolitionist in Congress. Salmon P. Chase became an abolitionist leader; and in the northern part of Ohio and Indiana, antislavery men became active in the movement.

205. Abolition in Congress. — All three groups of abolitionists were quick to see that the best place to attack slavery was in Congress, and about 1836 they began to send in petitions asking Congress to do away with slavery in the District of Columbia. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina became the chief defender of slavery, and he took the ground that "slavery was a good, a positive good," and that for any member of Congress to say it was wrong was an insult to the slaveholders.

Some of the northern members took that view and united with southern members to pass a series of "Gag Resolutions" (1836-1844), under which no antislavery petition could be read or discussed in Congress. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, who had never before been an antislavery man, became the champion of the right of the abolitionists, or anybody else, to hold public meetings, send petitions, and discuss slavery in Congress or outside.

206. Summary. — This chapter describes the American people, their numbers, races, and social life, and the system of slavery.

Of the three sections of the United States in 1830, North, South, and West, the North was the most thickly settled, had the greatest wealth and the greatest variety of business. The national population was doubling every twenty-five years, and large cities were growing up. The South included the three classes of free farmers, slaveholders, and poor whites. The West resembled the North. Foreign immigrants began to come in by the thousands, especially Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians.

Some of the old national churches divided and some new ones appeared. Efforts were made by both Catholics and Protestants to spread Christianity to other parts of the world. Many communities, brotherhoods, and fraternal orders were organized. It was a period of reform movements, especially

for temperance and the humane care of prisoners and the insane. The punishment of criminals and offenders was still cruel, and riots and mobs were frequent.

Opportunities for free laborers increased, but the hours were long and many children were employed. The southern labor in the fields and on plantations was done largely by negro slaves. Most of them lived poorly and some of them fell into the hands of cruel overseers or owners.

An antislavery movement arose in the North, led by active abolitionists, especially William Lloyd Garrison. One or two abolitionists appeared in Congress, and John C. Calhoun came forward as the principal defender of slavery. An effort was made by resolutions of Congress to prevent a discussion of the subject in either house.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 196) 1. What were the sections of the Union about 1830? 2. What were the interests and occupations of the North in 1830? 3. What were the conditions and occupations of the South? 4. What were the conditions and occupations of the West?

(§ 197) 5. How fast did the population of the United States increase? 6. What were the principal cities in 1830?

(§ 198) 7. How and why did immigration start up? 8. How were the immigrants distributed? 9 (For an essay). An immigrant voyage.

(§ 199) 10. What churches were brought by the immigrants? 11. How were some of the old churches divided? 12. What was the influence of the evangelists and other ministers? 13. What was the movement for home and foreign missions? 14 (For an essay). Missions to the Sandwich Islands.

(§ 200) 15. How did secret orders and societies grow up? 16. What was the temperance agitation and what did it bring about? 17. What improvement was made in the treatment of the insane? 18. What were the "communities" and how did they succeed? 19 (For an essay). Life at Brook Farm.

(§ 201) 20. What were ordinary punishments for offenders and criminals? 21. How was order kept in the cities? 22. How were the weak and dependent often treated?

(§ 202) 23. What were the occupations, wages, and conditions of wage earners? 24. How were slaves used outside of farm work? 25. Why was slavery profitable?

(§ 203) 26. How did slaves live under usual conditions? 27 (For an essay). On a cotton plantation; *or* a rice plantation.

(§ 204) 28. What were emancipation and abolition? 29. What was the Garrison group of abolitionists? 30. What was the middle state group? 31. What was the western group? 32 (For an essay). Accounts of abolition meetings.

(§ 205) 33. How did the abolition agitation get into Congress? 34. What were the Gag Resolutions?

CHAPTER XIX

NEW PARTIES AND POLITICS (1829-1841)

207. Revival of Party Spirit. — In 1829 the people in the United States were divided on much the same lines as in 1793 (§144). Part of the voters expected the federal government to be active in opening up the country and aiding the business interests. Another part thought that business men could take care of themselves, or that whatever was necessary for their aid and protection could best be done by the states.



The American "clipper ship" *The Guide*, built at Salem, Massachusetts. Sailed by Capt. Horace B. Putnam. Clipper ships were much used from 1840 to 1855

The shipowners and manufacturers of the New England and the middle states felt the need of federal laws favorable to their business. Those who were opposed to that policy lived mostly in the farming and planting regions, particularly in the South. The West had so many needs of its own and such a lively spirit that it inclined toward the idea of action by the national government.

The older part of the country believed in Hamilton's idea that government ought to be carried on by a class of trained public men, who could decide on a public policy (§ 143). Those who believed in Jefferson's doctrine of the wisdom of the people at large, expected the people to find out what they wanted for themselves. Many of this group feared to place great power in the hands of the President and the members of the House and the Senate; and they were very much afraid of the influence of the new President Andrew Jackson.

208. Andrew Jackson (1767-1845). — Notwithstanding his humble beginnings among the rough people of western South Carolina, Jackson became a lawyer, a judge, and a well-to-do planter in Tennessee. His mansion, which he called "The Hermitage," still stands near Nashville. He was twice for a short time a Senator of the United States, and he had large experience as a commander in the Indian wars, as the defender of New Orleans (§ 167), and as a general in the United States army.

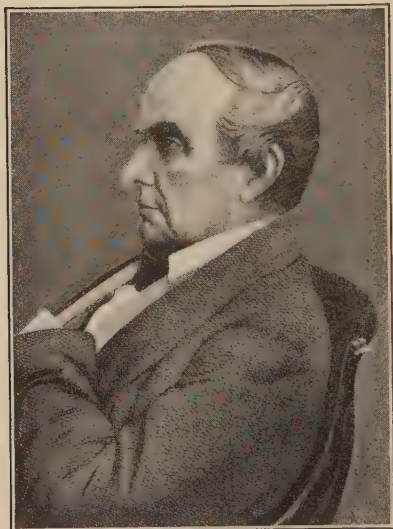
In person, Jackson was rather pleasing, tall, spare, well dressed, and had a piercing eye. He deserved the nickname of "Old Hickory," which his friends gave him because of his strength and toughness. He was polite to ladies, and his affection for Mrs. Jackson was such that he was ready to quarrel with any one who spoke ill of her, or of any other lady. Jackson liked to quarrel, and in the early part of his life fought two duels. On the other hand he had warm friends: Martin Van Buren, the political boss of the state of New York, admired him and stood by him; Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, with whom Jackson once had a rough-and-tumble fight, became one of his strongest supporters.

Jackson was elected President because he seemed to stand for the plain people, and especially for the westerners and the frontiersmen in the eastern states. He always made up his mind quickly, and then stood by his decisions. He had the frontier feeling that business men were too powerful in politics, and that the federal government ought not to be mixed up with them. The United States Bank with its capital of

\$35,000,000 seemed to some shrewd observers to be a public danger; and Jackson shared in that feeling.

209. The Triumvirs. — Among other great statesmen of Jackson's time perhaps the ablest was John Quincy Adams. He came back into Congress after his defeat for reelection as President (§ 194), but was never a party leader. The most famous statesmen of this epoch were Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, all of whom bitterly opposed Jackson. In recent years they are often called the "Triumvirs"; that is, the three great leaders.

Henry Clay of Kentucky was a westerner, and he had the natural ability to make friends by what we call "personal magnetism." For nearly forty years he was a great figure in Congress, and six times he was Speaker of the House. Clay was a strong debater and was called the "Great Pacifier," because several times during his career he drew up compromises which were adopted by Congress to dispose of vexing questions.



Daniel Webster, 1782-1852

Daniel Webster first came to Congress from New Hampshire in 1813; later he moved to Massachusetts, and for several long periods was a Senator from that state. Webster had a massive head which people used to compare with the Great Stone Face up in the White Mountains. He was the finest public speaker of his time, having a superb voice and a choice of simple and telling words that carried his meaning to every hearer. Webster made many warm personal friends but somehow never was popular outside of New England, perhaps because he was careless and extravagant in money matters. He

joined with Clay in building up an anti-Jackson party, and to the end of his life vainly hoped that he might be President.

John C. Calhoun was the most acute and sharp-witted of the three men. He was a planter and slaveholder in South Carolina, and therefore he was one of the most eager members of Congress in favor of the bank and tariff acts of 1816 (§§ 184, 185), expecting that the South would set up factories with slave labor. When it proved that the plan was hopeless, he turned sharply around, opposed the tariff, and became the great defender of slavery. He was at first a personal friend and supporter of Jackson, but in 1830 he quarreled with the President and became a strong anti-Jackson man. He could not bear to walk in party harness, and during the latter part of his life was a sort of independent in politics. He was always a bold and far-seeing statesman, who loved the Union but felt that the Union must not come into conflict with the interests of the South.

210. The Spoils System (1829-1837).—As soon as Jackson became President he began to use his power of removal from office to get rid of the Adams men whom he found in the government service. All the minor officials were appointed by the heads of departments and could be removed by them (§ 151). The pay of most of these people was small, but government places were supposed to be for life.

A New York politician, Marcy, about this time said in a public speech that in politics "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." He meant that whenever the political party that was "out" defeated the political party that was "in," the public officials ought to be dismissed, so that their places might go to the friends of the victors. Many Americans had come to believe in "rotation in office"; that is, that elective officers and even clerks and other minor employees of the states and the national government ought to serve only for a short time.

Jackson did not accept this doctrine of rotation of minor offices; but his friends persuaded him that the service was full of dishonest and incompetent men. Martin Van Buren, who was a master of party politics, became his Secretary of State.

Whenever Jackson or his secretaries dismissed an official, they appointed their own friend or a friend of their friends to the vacancy. This is what is called "the introduction of the spoils system into the national civil service."

The Jackson workers throughout the Union expected a change; and a pilgrimage of office seekers descended upon Washington. Many were editors of newspapers that had favored Jackson. When the applicants were strangers to him, Jackson had to take the advice of the heads of his departments, or of a group of special friends commonly called the "Kitchen Cabinet." Some of his choices were very bad, particularly Swartwout, collector of the port of New York, who stole more than a million dollars. Jackson dismissed about a third of the men holding important offices; and probably more than half the clerks, postmasters, and custom-house employees went out of office in the same fashion. Thenceforward for fifty years all the officers and employees of the government, from heads of departments to scrub women, were in danger of removal whenever a new President came in.

211. Jackson and the Bank (1829-1836).—The largest business institution in the country was the United States Bank (§ 185), a big, well managed concern, which paid good dividends. The federal government deposited its funds in the bank, which therefore always held several millions of government money. The head of the bank was Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia, the great financial magnate of that period.

Jackson, though well accustomed to doing business with banks, felt uneasy: he thought the states ought to control all the banking business; he feared that the United States Bank sooner or later would go into politics and try to control elections. He therefore vetoed a bill to continue the bank after the expiration of its charter in 1836. On this issue Clay was nominated for the presidency (1832) by the opponents of Jackson, who called themselves National Republicans. Jackson was easily reelected President over Clay.

Feeling that the people were behind him, the next year Jackson stopped depositing public money in the bank. The bank's friends fought as well as they could; but when the

federal charter expired in 1836, the bank had to give up business as a government concern.

212. Tariff and Nullification (1829-1832). — Another storm center in politics was the tariff, which was very unpopular in the South (§ 194). The planters did not make cotton goods but sold their raw cotton to the manufacturers, and were convinced that the tariff made them pay higher prices for what they bought. A new tariff in 1832 was somewhat lower, but was still protective.

South Carolina headed a movement against the tariff, and John C. Calhoun worked out the "nullification doctrine," that a protective tariff, not being for the "general welfare," was against the Constitution; the tariff acts were contrary to the higher law (§ 116) and were therefore no law at all. Calhoun and his friends hoped that the President would take their side, but Jackson was not the man to admit that any state could ignore an act of Congress; and at a public dinner in 1830, he offered the toast, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved."

In 1832 South Carolina passed a solemn Nullification Ordinance, which declared that the tariff acts "are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States . . . and are null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers, or citizens."

213. Union and State Rights (1830-1833). — The discussion on this question of state rights led to a famous debate between Senator Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster (1830). Hayne asserted that the Constitution was a "compact" between the states of the Union; that is, an agreement, like a contract made between persons. He considered that the federal government was not an independent government at all, but simply an "agent" to carry out the will of the states.

This doctrine, if pushed far enough, would include the right of a state to "secede"; that is, to leave the Union altogether. Neither Senator Hayne nor Calhoun went into that question; all they said was that a state could "nullify" a particular act of Congress, and still remain in the Union.

Webster took the opposite ground: he held that the Constitution is "the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." He insisted that the Supreme Court of the United States had the right to decide whether any act of Congress was according to the higher law of the Constitution, and argued that the Union was not an agent, but a government which no state could alter or disregard.

Jackson favored sending troops to Charleston. On the suggestion of Henry Clay, a compromise tariff was passed (1833), by which the duties were slowly to be reduced to a point where they would give very little protection to American manufacturers. This was a victory for South Carolina, because the policy of protection to manufacturers was thus given up for the time by the federal government. It was also a victory for Jackson and Webster, because they called public attention to their point that the Union was superior to the states. It was a happy settlement of a contest that might have broken the Union in two.

214. Democratic and Whig Parties (1832-1841). — Jackson was now known throughout the land to be a supporter of the Union, a foe to the United States Bank, and no special friend of protective tariffs. When Congress tried to spend federal funds on internal improvements (§ 186), Jackson came out against that policy, because he was sure that a good part of the money would be spent for roads and canals of only local benefit. And the states were quite able to build canals for themselves, as New York and others were doing (§§ 186, 229).

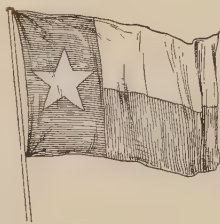
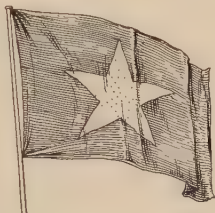
When Jackson believed in anything, he expected his friends in Congress to do the same. Those who accepted his principles on the bank, the tariff, and internal improvements, at first called "Jackson men," gradually drew together into a new party, the Democratic party, founded on the idea that the federal government ought not to use its power in aid of private business. When Jackson's second term was expiring, he put forward his friend, Van Buren, who was easily elected President by that party (1836), and stood by its principles.

The anti-Jackson men, of whom Clay and Webster were the strongest, insisted on the three things which Jackson most opposed: a national bank, a high tariff, and internal improvements. In 1834 those who thought as these leaders did gave themselves the name of Whigs, and soon became a great national party. The principles of the two parties were very much like those of the old Federalist party and the old Jeffersonian Republican party (§ 144).

Both parties spread throughout the Union, and remained rivals in state and national politics for the next twenty-five years. Both parties set up newspaper organs and national and state party committees, and worked to bring out the vote when elections came. Both parties used the offices, whether state, city, or national, to help them in their campaigns. Both parties adopted platforms and called upon the voters to save the country from "the other fellows."

215. Texas (1821-1837). — After Mexico became independent in 1821 (§ 192), Moses Austin of Connecticut secured a land grant from Mexico in the district of Texas. Under the leadership of his son, Stephen F. Austin, several thousand Americans went down there, mostly from the southern states, many of them taking slaves. The Mexican government was both weak and unfair, and in 1836 the Texans, following the example of the American Revolution, declared themselves independent.

The Mexican President, General Santa Anna, came over with a little army to subdue them; and his soldiers brutally killed in cold blood a few prisoners made at the fort of the Alamo (now in the city of San Antonio) and about 300 more



Flags of the Republic of Texas. The first two flags were in use in 1836. The third flag was adopted January 25, 1839

taken near the post of Goliad. A few weeks later the Texans, under General Samuel Houston, defeated and captured Santa Anna (1835), and set an example of a generous spirit by granting him his life.

The Texans at once asked the United States to take them into the Union, and Jackson would have been willing; but there were strong objections from northerners who did not want more slaveholding territory. All that was done was to recognize Texas as an independent republic, with its "lone-star flag" (1837). For eight years it made its own laws, and negotiated treaties with other countries.

216. Commercial Panic of 1837. — From 1829 to 1837 was a time of great speculation throughout the country. Since anybody could buy public lands in any quantity for \$1.25 an acre, vast sums were spent in the purchase of lands, with the hope of reselling them for higher prices. In two years \$40,000,000 poured into the Land Office, not a penny of which was needed for government expenses. This money was deposited in state banks, which lent a good part of it to speculators.

Something had to be done with the accumulated money, and Jackson, much against his will, agreed to a Deposit Act to distribute \$36,000,000 among the states. When this money was required from the banks in 1837, they called in part of the money lent to business men. When this money could not be collected, suddenly the whole country was in the midst of the worst commercial panic that it has ever seen. Probably four out of every five of the business men, however rich, could not raise money and became bankrupt. All the banks, even the soundest, "suspended specie payments"; that is, declined to redeem their own circulating notes in specie (§ 185). The importing houses stopped bringing in goods; hence the import duties fell off, and the United States government could not pay its bills without borrowing money.

The fields, mines, factories, buildings, ships, and steamboats were not destroyed, and the main loss was in the breaking up of business connections, and the lowering of the high values which had been put upon property and land. In a few years the country was more prosperous than ever.

217. Summary. — In this chapter we see how, under the powerful influence of Andrew Jackson and other great statesmen, two new political parties were founded; and we learn of the decisions that were made upon the great questions of the civil service, banks, tariff, and nullification.

The old division of the people between those who favored vigorous government and those who would rather rely on individual effort was repeated. Jackson was set in his ways and prone to hate those who opposed him; yet he was a great figure. Besides him, the great statesmen were John Quincy Adams, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun.

Almost without knowing it, Jackson introduced the spoils system into the federal government, by treating the offices as rewards to the party workers. The United States Bank was opposed by him because he thought it what we should call a dangerous monopoly. Nullification was opposed because the nullifiers set themselves against his authority, and because Jackson was naturally in favor of a strong central government. In the nullification controversy Webster made a famous argument for the rights and powers of the Union. On the tariff Jackson was satisfied with the compromise of 1833, which gave up the system of high protection for American industries.

The Whig and Democratic parties were formally organized, the principal issues between them being the bank, the tariff, and internal improvements.

Jackson was not able to bring about the annexation of Texas. Speculation and the so-called Deposit Act for turning the surplus over to the states, led the way to a commercial panic in 1837. Business was for a time fearfully injured, but after a few years the country recovered its prosperity.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 207) 1. What was the main division of party sentiment in 1829? 2. How did the different sections look on federal aid to business? 3. How did the East look on popular government?

(§ 208) 4. What sort of man was Andrew Jackson? 5. How did he look on the business questions of his time? 6 (For an essay). Account of a visit to Andrew Jackson.

(§ 209) 7. Who were the principal national statesmen from 1830 to 1850? 8 (For an essay). Account of Henry Clay; or Daniel Webster; or John C. Calhoun.

(§ 210) 9. How did President Jackson deal with appointments to office? 10. What is meant by "the spoils system"? 11. What is rotation in office? 12. What was the Kitchen Cabinet? 13. What effect did Jackson's appointments have on the public service?

(§ 211) 14. What was the relation of the government to the United States Bank? 15. What did Jackson think of the bank?

(§ 212) 16. Why was the South opposed to a protective tariff? 17. How did South Carolina express disapproval? 18. What was nullification?

(§ 213) 19. What was Hayne's theory of the Constitution? 20. What was Webster's doctrine? 21. How was the nullification controversy settled?

(§ 214) 22. Why did Jackson object to federal internal improvements? 23. How was the Jacksonian Democratic party founded? 24. How was the Whig party founded? 25. What were their political methods?

(§ 215) 26. How was Texas settled by Americans? 27. How did the Texans secure their independence? 28. How did the United States look on the new republic of Texas?

(§ 216) 29. How did the public lands affect the business of the country? 30. What was the Deposit Act? 31. What was the cause of the commercial panic of 1837?

CHAPTER XX

NEW BUSINESS METHODS (1829-1860)

218. Land (1830-1860). — From 1830 to 1860 was a good time for wide-awake men and women. The poor settler in the backwoods might live to see his farm worth thousands of dollars. The day laborer often came to be the owner of a great factory. The small dealer might become a wholesaler or a banker.

One of the reasons for this prosperity was the abundance of good farming land. It was the policy of the federal government to get rid of its lands as soon as possible. Therefore, bounty lands were given to soldiers of the various wars. Down to 1850 one section, or square mile, in every thirty-six was turned over to each new state for the support of schools; after that time each got two sections. Vast areas were given to states as funds for internal improvements, especially canals; this avoided the objection to Congress's voting money for the purpose.

It was felt that the settlers were rather neglected by this policy, and therefore a Preëmption Act was passed (1841) by which the first chance at the lands was reserved for them. Any head of a family, widow, single man, or single woman over twenty-one years of age, might once in a lifetime buy 160 acres of land for \$200. A strong and plucky man, with a few head of stock, and provisions to last during the first winter, could support himself and family almost from the start. This generous policy drew hundreds of thousands of natives and foreign immigrants into the West. In one year (1854) 430,000 foreigners landed at the ports of the United States, and they hastened the growth of new states like Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota.

219. Northern Farming (1830-1860). — In every northern and western state the landowning farming families at this period made up the most numerous class. They kept horses for farm work, and cattle and hogs, which gave the families a milk and meat diet; and their surplus butter and cheese found a ready sale. Happy the boy or girl who could sit at a farmer's table and share in its chicken, turkey, beef, and ham; its potatoes, squashes, beets, and corn; its fruit, preserves, buck-wheat cakes, mince pies, maple sirup, and cream gravy!

Along the northern belt from Vermont to Minnesota, wheat was a valuable crop; wheat and flour were easily carried to the seacoast for shipment, by canals, railroads, and the Mississippi River. Immense quantities of hay were put up for the winter. Tobacco was a good crop in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Indian corn could be grown anywhere, but the corn belt of central Illinois and Iowa proved to be especially rich. The hogs, cattle, and horses enriched the land, and the surplus animals could always be turned into cash.

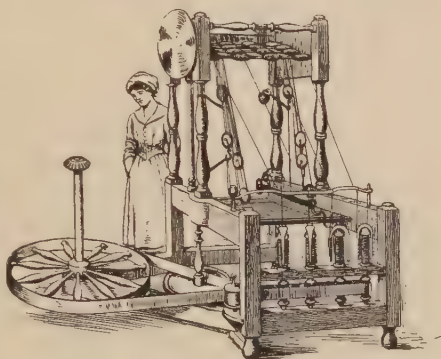
The northern farmers were happy and wide-awake. They had many churches, literary societies, Sunday schools, academies, books, and newspapers; they made journeys, and laid by money from year to year.

220. Southern Farming. — The farming conditions of the border states (§ 196) were much like those of the North; but in the "cotton states" the whole system was different. Many food crops could be grown there to advantage, and immense quantities of corn were grown; but it was cheaper to raise cotton and buy part of the food from the outside. Quantities of salt meat and hog products were bought from the packing houses of the northwestern states.

Cotton had large value in small bulk. Banks and cotton buyers would advance money to the planter on the security of the next crop that he was going to raise; and when his crop was sold and his debts paid, he had little left for the next year and was soon in debt again. Hence many planters could not get ahead, and the big planters who made the most money could buy out their poor neighbors, who migrated westward or were pushed back on poor land.

221. Manufactures (1815-1860). — From the beginning of the colonies, manufactured goods were made in the home (§§ 82, 178), or else in small workshops, such as the blacksmith's or tanner's, employing a few men. After 1830 most of the goods produced in the United States were made by bringing together workmen and workwomen into buildings and groups of buildings. There, aided by machines, they produced goods on a large scale, intended for sale far and wide (§ 183).

This so-called "factory system" of making textiles was not possible until the invention of machines, first for spinning thread and then for weaving cloth. Shortly before the Revolution, an Englishman named Hargreaves invented the "spinning jenny," which would twist a thread out of flax, or wool, or cotton; then Arkwright invented a spinning frame, and Cartwright invented a power loom which would weave such threads into cloth. These machines were introduced into the United States about the year 1790.



Arkwright's first spinning frame. This machine made a harder and stronger thread than the "jenny"

Some factories ran by water power; but steam engines were improved (§ 177) and could be used to advantage near cheap wood or coal. Under the protective tariff of 1816 and later (§ 212) the American mills had an advantage; and after a lower tariff was passed in 1846, they were still able to hold their own and increase. By 1860 there were over 2000 cotton and woolen mills, turning out a product worth nearly 200 million dollars every year.

The building of machines and railroads caused every branch of iron manufacture to flourish. Raw iron is made in a furnace by mixing iron ore, limestone, and a fuel, which for a long time was charcoal. Air is forced in by a blower; the

intense heat causes the limestone to combine with the earthy part of the ore and leaves liquid iron, which is then run off into bars about two and a half feet long, called "pigs." About 1840 it was found that anthracite (hard coal) could be used instead of charcoal; and a little later the Clay Furnace in western Pennsylvania was the first to use bituminous or soft coal for the same purpose. The cheap fuel made pig iron cheap. Nowadays coke made from soft coal is the usual fuel.

Cheap pig iron gave business to the rolling mills, which melted the pig iron and worked it over in a special furnace into lumps of tough wrought iron, which were then rolled into bars, or wire, or railroad iron. Cheap wrought iron helped the manufacture of hardware, tools, axes, nails, and the parts of looms and engines.

222. Mining. — Soft coal had been mined in a small way in western Pennsylvania for many years, and now the magnificent hard coal deposits of eastern Pennsylvania came into use. Bituminous or soft coal was eventually found in almost every state south of the Great Lakes. Steam engines made it possible to keep deep mines free from water. Little tramways were built in the mines, and some of them ran a few miles to a canal or a railroad. Girls never worked in the mines, but many thousands of boys were employed.

In course of time rich iron mines were found near Lake Superior (about 1860), from which the ore could be shipped down to Lake Erie. To meet the ore, coal was brought to such towns as Erie and Cleveland, which grew into cities. Pittsburgh shared in this prosperity.

The first gold miners in the Rocky Mountains and in California worked "placers"; that is, the deposits of gold-bearing gravel in the beds of streams. They would build a flume of timber to carry the water around the bed of the stream, and then could dig down to the bed rock where they found gold dust and nuggets. Within five years after the discovery of gold, most of the placers were worked out, and miners began to follow back to find the quartz veins from which the gold had been washed. This required machinery and underground work. There were also hydraulic mines, in which great banks of earth contain-

ing a small amount of gold were washed out by streams of water under very high pressure.

223. Labor Unions (1830-1850).—A new class of foreign wage laborers built railroads and canals, and helped to operate factories and workshops. Local trades unions arose soon after the Revolution, but their members were looked upon by employers and courts almost as criminals. In 1827 the first association of mechanics' unions was formed. In 1834 came the first attempt to unite the trades unions of the cities into a national organization. The labor men began to put up candidates for office, and in some districts elected members of the legislature and Congressmen. They were much interested in free schools and cast their votes for those who would give better opportunities to their children. They objected to child labor, for four out of ten of the workers in cotton and woolen mills were under seventeen years of age.

An early purpose of the unions was to secure shorter hours of labor. Ten hours was fixed on as a sufficient day's work, and in 1840 President Van Buren made the rule that ten hours should be the working day in the government navy yards and arsenals. It was many years before that schedule was accepted by private employers, and many more years before working women and children were properly protected.

The country was full of work. The stage lines, steamboats, and railroads wanted clerks and bookkeepers; the mills and factories needed foremen and skilled mechanics. Sailors and fishermen numbered thousands. The domestic servants included many farmers' daughters who took employment as "hired girls" in the neighborhood. Intelligent young men and women in the country and villages found work as school teachers, though the pay was but a few dollars a week for a few months in the year.

224. Inventions.—The making of machinery was aided by the liberal patent laws of the United States. Any person who thinks out a new device for doing things in a way which nobody has thought of before, can file a description of his invention in the Patent Office at Washington. If the experts in that office decide that he is the first discoverer of this method

or machine, they grant him a patent, which gives him for a term of years (now seventeen) the sole right to make and sell his invention. Up to 1860, 43,000 such patents had been issued.

Among them were many for improvements on the steam engine and for other machinery, such as the power wood planer, a massive machine which could take in a rough board at one end, and turn it out at the other planed, tongued and grooved, and ready to lay as flooring. A very useful machine was Hoe's printing press, which made rapid printing possible. Till 1839 pictures of persons and things could be made only by drawings. Then a

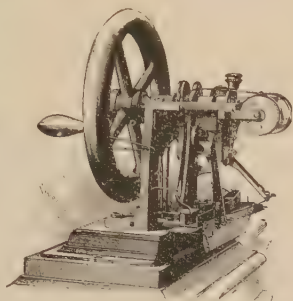


An early daguerreotype. (The author is on the left)

Frenchman named Daguerre perfected a method of taking a picture by letting the sunlight fall upon a copper plate, covered with a film of silver salt; and these "daguerreotypes" were very good pictures. From this it was a short cut to better methods of photography, by which pictures were reproduced on prepared paper. This proved to be a very useful device.

In a country as large as the United States, it took a long time to carry news. But in 1836 Samuel F. B. Morse discovered the electric telegraph. He worked a "circuit breaker" at one end of a wire, and the electric current in the wire set in motion a little machine at the other end, the vibrations of which could be read. Eight years later Morse sent his first message to a distance. Fourteen years later still (1858) an electric cable was laid by Cyrus Field under the sea from America to Europe. The telegraph not only carried swiftly the news of the day; it was also used by business men and families.

225. Household Inventions. — Down to 1830 many well-to-do farmers and village families made their own butter, cheese, apple butter, vinegar, soap, candles, crackers, yeast, maple sugar, hams, bacon, and dried beef; spun, dyed, and wove their own cloth; wove their own carpets and rugs; knit their own stockings; made their own shirts; and did all the washing and laundry work at home. Much of this work ceased when goods were cheaply produced in factories (§ 221). At the same time new inventions lightened the labor of the house and farm.



Howe's first sewing machine

The most convenient of these was friction matches. Imagine living when the only way to get a light was to take up a live coal from a fireplace, or to strike a steel on a flint to make a spark, which was caught in carefully prepared tinder. Up to 1840 all the cooking in the country was done over open fires, in brick ovens, or in the "Dutch oven" of tin, set up against the fire. The invention of iron cook stoves wonderfully reduced the labor of the housewife. The drudgery of endless hand sewing was relieved when Elias Howe made his sewing machine (patented 1846), with its ingenious idea of putting the eye of the needle near the point instead of in the shank, and locking the thread underneath the cloth.

In place of the old-fashioned tallow candles, several kinds of oil lamps were introduced. In the cities, gas works were built and the gas lighted the streets and was used also in houses and factories.

A very useful discovery was the making of waterproof goods out of a gum found in the forests of South America, and commonly called rubber. But rubber was too soft for most uses, till Goodyear found (1844) that if mixed with sulphur it would harden, and could be molded into useful shapes.

For centuries the world had longed for a drug which would make people insensible to pain for a brief time, and several scientific men, physicians, and dentists had experimented.

Several men about the same time discovered that a liquid called "ether" threw off a gas which could be inhaled and would make a patient unconscious, so that surgical operations could be performed without his knowing it. Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia was the first to use it, but Dr. Morton of Boston first made it of practical value.

226. Farm Inventions. — Till 1830 all the farm work was still done by men and animals just as in colonial times (§ 53). Grass was cut with a scythe, and grain with a sickle or cradle; and grain was threshed with a flail. Then Cyrus McCormick and others invented the horse reaper for grain, and horse rakes and horse mowing machines for hay. These lightened some of the severest labors of the field. Next came the threshing machine driven by horse or steam power. A third important farm invention was skillfully shaped plows which turned the ground at just the right angle.

These various machines were about as important for the North and West as the cotton gin (§ 190) was for the South. With them the same number of farm workers could raise and handle two or three times as much as before. Other machines that proved very helpful to the farmer were cultivators, seed drills, and rotary harrows, and churns that could be run by dog power or water power.

Few of these machines were adapted for the South. Improved tools and machines were not of much use on the plantations because slaves could not be taught to be careful. However, the cotton gins were much improved, and steam power was used for pressing and baling cotton.

227. Organization of Business. — Farming, manufacturing, and mining were all aided by improvements in the method of doing business. Corporations (§ 142) were formed for all sorts of purposes, especially to build railroads and run steamers. The banks so increased that by 1860 there were about 1500; but the currency was poor, because many counterfeit, worthless, and doubtful bank notes were afloat.

The profits of these companies and of private business men made a class of rich men. John Jacob Astor of New York and Stephen Girard of Philadelphia were the first millionaires. In

New York and other large cities goods were sold in quantities at wholesale; and many country storekeepers every year took long journeys to St. Louis, or New Orleans, or New York, to buy goods from the wholesalers, for at that time there were no traveling salesmen. Besides the lively internal trade, foreign commerce was brisk. The imports and exports of goods, taken together, amounted to 300 million dollars in 1836 and 680 millions in 1860.

228. Commerce and Transportation. — A large part of this trade was carried on the American "clipper ships," which were very fast and handy sailing vessels (page 258). They took away cotton, breadstuffs, fish, timber, and some cotton cloth; and they brought back luxuries, fine cloths, iron wares, machinery, and many other things.

In 1840 the Cunard Steamship Company put on the first regular line of ocean steamers (§ 177) to run from Liver-

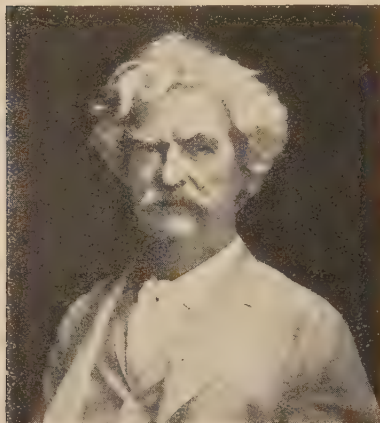


A fleet of New-York-to-Liverpool mail steamers, about 1855. Side-wheel steamers of this period were equipped with sails

pool to Boston. Then German steamers began to run from Bremen to Baltimore; and from various other European ports steamers crossed to Philadelphia, New York, and southern

ports. Congress voted cash aids to Americans who would build competing steamship lines; the federal government at

one time paid more than a million dollars a year for the purpose.



Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), 1835-1910

After California was annexed (1848), steamer lines were put on from Atlantic ports to the eastern side of the isthmuses of Panama and Nicaragua; and others from the western side up the Pacific coast to San Francisco. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company ran regular steamers from San Francisco to China.

The river steamers of the interior had high-pressure engines and weak boilers, and many of them were blown up or burned, or struck snags and went down in deep water. To pilot them became a profession, and Mark Twain, the famous American writer, began his active life as one of those pilots.

In 1851 the rate of ordinary letter postage was reduced to three cents, but the post office would not carry parcels.

A young man named Harnden had the happy thought of making it a business to carry packages back and forth between New York and Boston. This idea grew into several regular express companies which would carry anything from gold dust to live animals, at so much a pound.



The first expressman, William F. Harnden

229. Roads and Canals (1825-1850). — About 1830, all over the North and South and in some parts of the West, companies were building so-called “macadam roads,” or “pikes,” carefully drained and covered with broken stone. “Plank roads” were frequent on the frontier, and also “corduroy roads” made of trunks of trees laid side by side across swamps.

The federal government from 1825 to 1840 built a continuation of the Cumberland Road (§ 187), called the National Road, from Wheeling, Virginia, to Springfield, Ohio. Other sections of the road were built in Indiana and Illinois; but after spending \$6,000,000 the government left it unfinished and turned it over to the states through which it ran.



Coach used by Lafayette during his visit to the United States in 1824; now at the Wayside Inn, Massachusetts

From 1825 to 1850 several of the Atlantic coast states tried to follow the example of New York by building canals to the West. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia all finished their canals as far as the foot of the Allegheny Mountains; and Pennsylvania also built a canal from Pittsburgh to the western side of the mountains, and connected the two sections by a set of inclined planes provided with tracks over which the canal boats could be drawn on trucks. By this route one could travel from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia in six days — a journey now covered by fast trains in eight hours.

The western states found canal building an easier task, for the divides were low between Lake Erie or Lake Michigan and the branches of the Ohio River or the Mississippi. Pennsyl-

vania finished a canal from Lake Erie to the mouth of the Beaver River near Pittsburgh; Ohio built two lines from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. Ohio and Indiana built a canal from Toledo to the Wabash River; and Illinois finished a canal from the mouth of the Chicago River to the Illinois River.

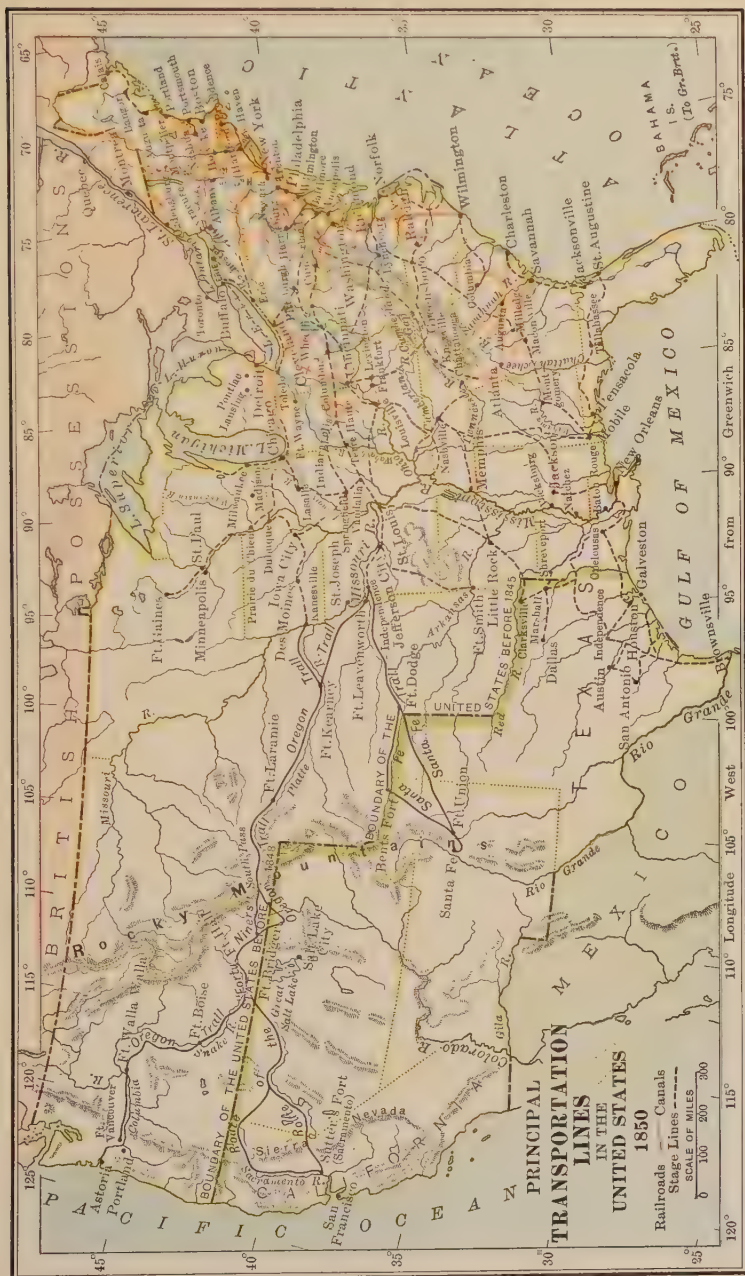
230. Railroads. — The idea of running cars fitted with flanged wheels over parallel tracks goes back to the English mines (§ 177). Then the English began to build railroads across their country for passengers and freight.

In 1830 thirteen miles of railroad was opened between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills by the Baltimore and Ohio Company, and cars were run by horses. In the same year the first steam locomotives in America were used. From that time the railroad system spread until in 1860 there were 30,000 miles actually in operation.

The first railroads were built in short stretches, so that a traveler from Albany to Buffalo changed cars five or six times. The early cars were like stagecoaches, but they were soon displaced by cars like long boxes with seats on each side of the middle aisle. This has become the standard American car.

Though in several European countries at that time the railroads were owned by the government, our federal government chartered no railroad company and did not in any way control the railroad business. It did, however, make large grants of public lands for the construction of railroads in the region lying between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River. Among these lines were the Illinois Central and Mobile and Ohio Railroads, extending from Chicago to the Gulf, and lines radiating from Chicago. The pressure on the national government to make internal improvements (§ 214) ceased for some years.

Many of the state governments gave or lent money to railroad companies, and several of them built short stretches of railroad. For example, the present Michigan Central line from Detroit to Kalamazoo was constructed and for several years was run by the state of Michigan. Counties, cities, towns, and townships also voted large sums to bring railroads



near them; and more than a third of the cost of all the railroads built at this time came from public funds.

By 1860 lines of railroad (broken in places by broad rivers) could be followed from central Maine southwest to New Orleans; and from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore to most of the western cities as far as the Mississippi River. One line reached the Missouri River at St. Joseph. Railroads ran all the year, including the winter when canals were frozen up; they bridged most of the streams, but crossed ordinary highways at grade. Railroad trains were six or seven times faster than canal boats and two or three times faster than the swiftest mail coaches.

231. Summary. — This chapter continues the treatment of Chapter XVII in its account of the business methods of the period, including farming, manufactures, mining, labor questions, inventions, and new forms of transportation.

From 1830 to 1860 came wonderful changes in business and transportation. New lands were opened up in the West; and by the Preëemption Act (1841) large portions were reserved for actual settlers. Other lands were granted for building railroads and canals. The northern and western farmers raised a variety of crops and animal products, and sold food to the South and to foreign countries. The southern planter raised corn for food, but his main crop was cotton.

Laborers began to organize: first the men of one trade in one town, then all the trades in a town, then many trades, till they had something resembling our modern federations of labor unions. The federal government fixed its day of labor at ten hours, but factories had much longer hours, even for women and children.

Manufactures were carried on in numerous factories, large and small, especially in those for making woolen and cotton cloth, and iron. Mines of every sort were opened, especially of hard and soft coal, iron ore, and gold in California.

Business was aided by a multitude of inventions, such as the wood planer, the printing press, and the electric telegraph. Other inventions, such as matches, sewing machines, oil lamps, mowers, and reapers, made home and farm life easier.

Business methods were improved through corporations for carrying on factories, mines, and railroads, and through an organized wholesale trade. Goods were carried abroad in part by sailing ships and in part by steamers; steamers along the coast and on the Great Lakes and rivers carried an enormous traffic. Local business people generally depended on wagon roads and canals, till railroads were built. The railroads, aided by land grants and local subscriptions, stretched a net of connecting lines over the Union as far as the Mississippi River.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 218) 1. Why was it easy for poor people to get on between 1830 and 1860? 2. What was the public land policy of the federal government? 3. What was the Preëemption Act? 4. What was the condition of immigration in this period?

(§ 219) 5. How did the northern farmers live? 6. What made the northern farmers prosperous?

(§ 220) 7. How did the southern farmers live?

(§ 221) 8. How were manufactured goods made before 1830? 9. How did the factory system grow up? 10. What were the principal early in-

ventions for spinning and weaving? 11. How did cotton and woolen mills grow up? 12. What improvements were made in iron manufacture?

(§ 222) 13. How was coal mined? 14. What new supplies of iron ore were introduced? 15. How was gold mined? 16 (For an essay). In a coal mine.

(§ 223) 17. How did the labor unions grow up and what were their aims? 18. What were the opportunities for work in the United States?

(§ 224) 19. How are patents for inventions issued? 20. What were some of the early valuable inventions? 21. How was the electric telegraph invented and improved? 22 (For an essay). Morse's struggles over the telegraph.

(§ 225) 23. How did families care for their own wants? 24. What were some early inventions for relieving home labor? 25. What were the inventions for light and waterproof? 26. How were anæsthetic drugs discovered?

(§ 226) 27. What were some of the early inventions for relieving farm labor? 28 (For an essay). McCormick's struggles to introduce the reaper.

(§ 227) 29. What improvements were introduced for doing business on a large scale? 30. How did large and small merchants carry on their business?

(§ 228) 31. What were the American clipper ships and what did they carry? 32 (For an essay). Notable clipper ships. 33. How were ocean steamship lines introduced? 34. How was the river steamship business carried on? 35. How was the express business begun? 36 (For an essay). Harnden's early express.

(§ 229) 37. How were roads constructed? 38 (For an essay). A trip on the National Road. 39. What canal routes were constructed to and across the mountains? 40. What were the principal interior canals?

(§ 230) 41. What were the first railroads? 42 (For an essay). Accounts of early travel by railroad. 43. What did the federal government do for railroads? 44. What part did the states take in railroad building? 45. How far had the railroad lines extended by 1860?

CHAPTER XXI

WESTWARD EXPANSION (1840-1850)

232. The Whigs in Power (1840-1842). — In the presidential election of 1840 the Democrats put up Van Buren again. The Whigs dropped Henry Clay and nominated General William Henry Harrison, who was the hero of the first rousing presidential campaign. Some Democrats said of Harrison that "he was nothing but an old farmer, who ought to sit in his log cabin and drink hard cider." The Whigs took up the sneer, and arranged monster meetings, sometimes of 50,000 people. In their processions they tugged with them log cabins on wheels with old farmers drinking hard cider on the porch. The Democrats were held responsible for the panic of 1837. In the election, consequently, the Whigs carried their candidate and also a majority in each house of the next Congress. At last they had a chance to manage the national government and to parcel out the federal offices.

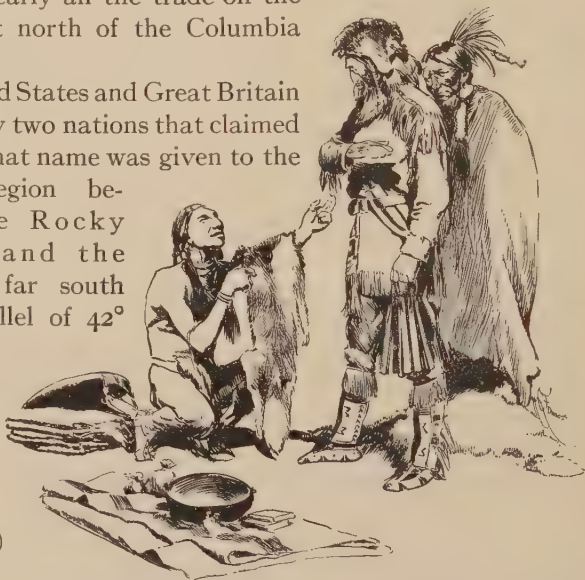
A few weeks after Harrison's inauguration in 1841, he died, and Vice President John Tyler succeeded him. Tyler was really not a Whig and made up his mind not to take orders from Henry Clay, who had framed a program for action in Congress, including plans for a protective tariff and a bank. When Tyler vetoed Clay's bill for a bank, the Cabinet (except Webster) resigned and left the President without a party. He spent four years in the vain effort to be a strong President without friends in either party. Webster as Secretary of State settled a long boundary dispute: he negotiated a treaty with Great Britain (1842) by which a disputed triangle of territory in northern Maine was divided, and the United States accepted the present boundary of the state.

233. The Northwest (1815-1840). — North of the Ohio River the population grew rapidly. The territory of Michi-

gan was ready for statehood. In 1837 it was admitted to the Union (26th state) with about 150,000 people (map, page 328). The new state received the peninsula of Upper Michigan in return for the loss of a strip of territory claimed by Ohio in the south.

After the War of 1812 Astor did not revive his post of Astoria (§ 157). The great fur-trading concern in the far Northwest was the Hudson's Bay Company, an English corporation which controlled nearly all the trade on the Pacific coast north of the Columbia River.

The United States and Great Britain were the only two nations that claimed Oregon. That name was given to the immense region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, as far south as the parallel of 42° and as far north as $54^{\circ}40'$. The two governments, therefore, agreed (1818) that until further notice citizens



A trader bartering for furs. The sticks which the trader holds in his hand were given as a kind of money in exchange for the furs

of both countries should be free to travel and trade in Oregon. Because of the hint to Russia in the Monroe Doctrine (§ 193), the Russian government agreed (1824) to make no claim to territory south of $54^{\circ}40'$, which is the present southern boundary of Alaska.

American fur traders were now exploring almost every stream and mountain pass between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. The business of collecting furs there was carried on by large companies, which fitted out boats and

wagon and pack trains to carry their goods to distant posts, where they could trade with the Indians. By 1840 American fur traders had crossed and recrossed the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada into California. Their trappers, mostly French or French-Indian half-breeds, searched the most remote valleys looking for beaver, mink, fox, and other pelts; and there was an immense business in buffalo robes.

The trappers were a rough set of men. One of the heads of a trading post on the upper Missouri River says that some of them were quarreling one day, under the influence of drink, and threw one of their fellows on the fire, from which he was barely rescued alive.

234. Oregon Trail (1830-1846). — A few American vessels went around Cape Horn carrying missionaries and settlers, but a shorter and not very difficult way was the overland route, which was discovered by the trappers. Between 1830 and 1835 a young Massachusetts business man named Wyeth hit



Western trails, fur-producing regions, and trading posts

on the idea of going out to Oregon overland and starting a chain of trading posts there. He made known to the people of the East the easy route up the Platte River, to the north-

ward of Great Salt Lake, along the upper Snake River, and thence across the country to the Columbia. This line of travel was called the Oregon Trail.

The heathen Indians in Oregon attracted the notice of the churches of the East. In 1834 the Methodists sent the first missionaries across the continent to the Indians; soon after a Congregational missionary went out; and in 1840 the Catholics sent Father De Smet, who was the first Catholic missionary to that region from the United States.

American and other ships often touched at California, which was a distant province of Mexico. Catholic missions for the Indians had existed there since 1769; and the ruins of the buildings are still among the most beautiful things in California. A few Americans settled there to raise cattle and catch wild horses. From 1842 to 1846 three explorations were made into the far West by John C. Frémont, a young army officer. He explored the wilds of the Rocky Mountains, followed the Oregon Trail to Oregon, and later crossed the Sierra Nevada to California. His accounts of these journeys drew public attention both to Oregon and to California.

At about the same time immigrants began to use the Oregon Trail. Dr. Marcus Whitman, who was one of the Congregational missionaries in Oregon, grew uneasy lest British settlers should come west by the land route from Canada and occupy the country. In 1842 he made a bold horseback journey in the winter through the Rocky Mountains, partly for business of his mission, partly for the purpose of arousing public sentiment concerning Oregon. He came to Washington and saw President Tyler. The next summer he joined a party of immigrants to Oregon and went back to his post, where he was later massacred by Indians.

These incidents some years later gave rise to the claim, made by Whitman's friends, that he "saved Oregon" from being turned over to the British, by stirring up Tyler and Webster, who, he supposed, were about to yield it to Great Britain. He was also credited with leading a thousand immigrants across the plains to Oregon. Whitman was a brave man, one of many who went through hardship and danger to

make Oregon ours; and for that he deserves the gratitude of Americans. He did not save Oregon, because Oregon was not in danger of being given up. Whitman did not induce the government to change its policy, for it had no policy unfavorable to Oregon. Nor was he the leader of the immigrants to Oregon; they had been brought together without him and would have gone to Oregon if he had never lived.

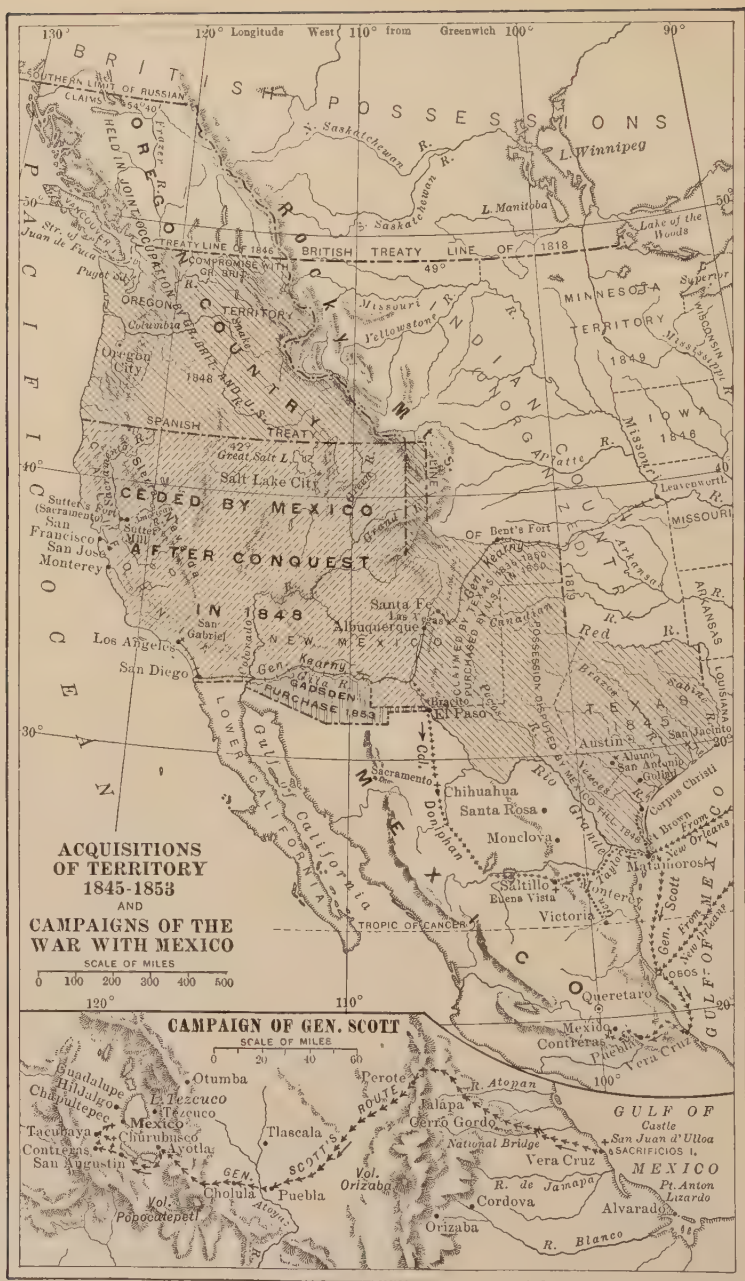
235. The Southwest and Texas (1828-1844). — In the Southwest a direct trade from St. Louis to Santa Fe, the capital of the Mexican province of New Mexico, began about 1828. A portion of the road, called the Santa Fe Trail, is still visible in Kansas City and farther west.

The territory of Arkansas applied for statehood and was admitted in 1836 as the 25th state, with 55,000 people.

When the new Texan Republic was founded in 1836 (§ 215) the Texan government declared that its boundary ran from the mouth of the Rio Grande to its source. This would have included about half of New Mexico, with the town of Santa Fe and a strip of territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Neither of these areas was occupied by Texans, and neither had been considered part of Texas by the Spaniards or Mexicans.

The Texans were still anxious to come into the Union, but President Van Buren, a northern man, was against them. President Tyler, on the contrary, made it one of his main objects to annex Texas. A long struggle began in 1843, when John Quincy Adams appealed to the North not to allow the admission of a new slave state. In 1844 Tyler made Calhoun (§ 209) Secretary of State for the express purpose of bringing in Texas; but the North was aroused, and many state legislatures urged their Senators to vote against any such treaty. The project failed, and Tyler's scheme seemed hopeless.

236. Enlargement of the Union (1844-1846). — The presidential election of 1844 changed both the Oregon and the Texas controversy. Clay was the Whig candidate, but was known to be against the annexation of Texas. The Democrats therefore nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee, who came out for the annexation. A campaign watchword of his party



was "Fifty-four Forty or Fight"; that is, they claimed all the northwestern territory in dispute with Great Britain. On these issues Polk was elected.

In 1845, Congress, without waiting for Polk's inauguration, passed a "joint resolution" (which is the same thing as an act) admitting the Republic of Texas as a state of the Union. Thus Tyler had the pleasure of offering annexation to the Texans. In spite of angry protests from the North, they accepted; and in December, 1845, the state entered the Union as the 28th state, with 265,000 square miles and 200,000 people.

Three other states were admitted within a period of about three years. Florida was then a backward region, but statehood had been promised when the territory was annexed in 1819 (§ 193) and Florida came in, in March, 1845, with 80,000 inhabitants, as the 27th state. Florida was balanced by the free state of Iowa, almost all of whose settlers came from northern states. It was admitted in 1846 as the 29th state with 100,000 people. To balance Texas, Wisconsin was admitted as a free state (the 30th) in 1848, with about 250,000 people, making a total of 15 free states and 15 slave states. Wisconsin included some strong antislavery and abolition settlers from the East and from Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois.

It was high time to settle the dispute about Oregon. The United States had long admitted that the English had some just claims there; and in 1846 a treaty was signed fixing the boundary on the parallel of the 49th degree, from the Rocky Mountains west to the Gulf of Georgia. Thence the boundary followed the Straits of Juan de Fuca to the ocean. The disputed territory was thus divided into two nearly equal parts.

237. Mexican War (1846-1848). — Why was Polk so willing to accept a boundary south of $54^{\circ} 40'$? Partly because he had made up his mind to take California from Mexico, either for a price or by fighting. The United States had a serious grievance against Mexico, because for many years complaints and claims had arisen for injuries to Americans and their property. On their side the Mexicans were furious because the United States denied that Texas was still a part of Mexico.

Another grievance was furnished to the Mexicans when Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to march American troops south of the Texan settlements and beyond the Nueces River, to the Rio Grande. This action was based on the Texan claim to all the region east of the Rio Grande (§ 235). The Mexicans looked upon Taylor's march as an invasion and attacked him north of the river. Polk then declared that Mexico had "invaded our country and shed American blood on American soil," and Congress declared war.

The war lasted a year and a half. Mexico put many men in the field, but lacked trained officers and soldiers. The American armies were skillfully led, first by General Taylor and then by General Winfield Scott. After very hard fighting, especially at Monterey and Buena Vista in northern Mexico, and at Puebla and Contreras near the city of Mexico, the forces of the Mexican president, General Santa Anna, were completely beaten.

The Mexicans made no effort to protect New Mexico, which was captured without the firing of a shot, by an expedition under Colonel Kearny. Part of Kearny's expedition went on to California, and with the aid of a little fleet easily took that whole vast country. As a result of the war, therefore, President Polk annexed the three pieces of territory which he coveted: (1) the strip between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; (2) New Mexico, through which ran the overland route to California; (3) California.

The beaten Mexicans could do nothing but accept a treaty of peace (1848), by which the present southern boundary of the United States was fixed, along the Rio Grande as far as El Paso. Thence the line ran across to the Gila and Colorado rivers, and from the Colorado to the Pacific Ocean. This part of the line was changed five years later when the United States bought for ten million dollars the "Gadsden purchase" south of the Gila River, which completed the present boundary line between the Rio Grande and the Colorado River.

Thus from 1845 to 1853 the United States extended the national territory from the old boundary at the mouth of the Sabine River southward along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico

to the Rio Grande; west from that river to the Pacific Ocean; and from San Diego Bay northward along the Pacific to Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia.

238. Slavery in the New Territories (1846-1848). — The act admitting Texas extended the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ (§ 191) so as to include any states that might be formed north of that line in the new territory. The act further promised that if the Texans so desired, as many as five states might be created out of their state. Polk expected to continue the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ between free and slave territory straight west, till it struck the Pacific south of San Francisco Bay. That would extend the boundary drawn between free and slaveholding territory all the way from Delaware Bay to the Pacific Ocean.

The opponents of slavery in the House rallied, and in 1846 passed the Wilmot Proviso, to the effect that there should be no slavery in any Mexican territory that might be secured as a result of the war. The Senate did not agree, and though the proviso was afterward brought up many times, it was never passed. Abraham Lincoln, an antislavery Whig, used to boast that he voted forty-two times for the principle of the Wilmot Proviso during his two years in Congress (1847-1849). Nobody knew whether the new territory was suitable for future slave states. After two years of exciting debates, the only act passed by Congress concerning the new lands made Oregon a free territory (1848).

The struggle was carried into the presidential election of 1848, in which Lewis Cass of Michigan, the Democratic candidate, seemed to favor slavery in the new territory. The Whigs nominated General Taylor of Louisiana. The abolitionists, already united in what they called the Liberty party, joined with a large body of antislavery Democrats in a new Free-soil party, and they nominated Martin Van Buren for President. They drew off so many votes that would otherwise have gone to Cass that he lost several states on which he had counted, and Taylor was chosen President.

239. Question of California (1848-1850). — When the next Congress met, in 1849, it was time to stop the long discussion

on annexation, and to settle three serious questions: Did Texas extend to the upper Rio Grande north of El Paso? Was slavery to be permitted in New Mexico? Was slavery to be permitted in California?

(1) The Texans were very set in their belief that their western boundary was the upper Rio Grande, and they vainly tried to seize Santa Fe; President Taylor opposed them.

(2) As for New Mexico, some statesmen, including Henry Clay, held that no act of Congress was necessary because the region had been made free by Mexico and continued free after annexation. Others claimed that somehow the Constitution of the United States made this a slaveholding region.

(3) In California some men digging a mill race on the American River, sixty miles above Sutter's Fort (now Sacramento), in 1848, found some shining yellow grains which proved to be gold. They had struck a placer (§ 222). When the news reached San Francisco, hundreds of men left their homes or deserted from their ships to rush to the gold region. The next year (1849) thousands of "Forty-niners" came from all parts of the earth: Englishmen and Germans, South Americans, Chinese, and people from the "States," as Californians long called the rest of the Union. Large numbers came by sea; others crossed overland, suffering terrible hardships in the burning deserts and the snows of the Sierra Nevada.

A few southerners brought slaves, but it was clear that the gold seekers would never allow anybody to put slaves into the mines, and then take all the gold that those slaves might find. In 1849 the Californians held a convention which developed a state constitution and also laid down two principles: (a) The state must extend from Oregon to Mexico. That made impossible any 36° 30' compromise line across California. (b) No slaves should be held in California.

240. Compromise of 1850. — The dispute about slavery in California was practically ended, for Congress was clearly unable to compel the Californians to change their minds. Still Congress had before it the Texas and New Mexico questions. Just then two more disputes arose about slavery: (4) The old Fugitive Slave Law (§ 191) was not working well and



Forty-niners panning for gold in California

the South wanted a new one. (5) Northern members of Congress demanded that the slave trade be abolished in the District of Columbia.

Henry Clay, now old but full of fire, set himself to work out a compromise that should include and adjust these five points. His results were presented in the "Omnibus Bill" in which he was backed up by Daniel Webster. Webster took the ground that no new law on slavery was needed because New Mexico had not the soil and conditions which could make slave labor pay; therefore in his famous "7th of March" speech he said, "I would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to reenact the will of God."

John C. Calhoun, then a dying man, warned the North that they must yield something or the Union would break up. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi declared that the South would not accept anything less than drawing the compromise line to the Pacific, even against the will of California. President Taylor, though a southern slaveholder like Clay, was against the compromise; but he died in 1850, and was succeeded by Vice President Millard Fillmore of New York.

Congress finally passed the Clay compromise measures through both houses, in separate bills, and they were signed by President Fillmore: (1) Texas was not allowed to include the upper Rio Grande. (2) New Mexico and Utah were organized as territories into which owners might take their slaves (map, page 318). The expectation was that New Mexico would become a slave state. (3) California was at once admitted (1850) as a free state, the 31st state in the Union, with 92,000 population. (4) A new Fugitive Slave Law was passed, more favorable to the South. (5) The trade in slaves between the District of Columbia and other parts of the Union was forbidden.

Almost everybody except the abolitionists and extreme slaveholders was pleased by this Compromise of 1850, for it peacefully ended a long contest. It was called a "finality," though it left the following questions unsettled: (1) It said nothing about annexing any other slaveholding territory; for instance, the Spanish island of Cuba. (2) It provided no slave

state to offset California and thus keep up the balance in the Senate. (3) It could not stop the abolitionists from their effort to arouse the northern people against slavery.

241. Summary. — This chapter covers the ten years from 1840 to 1850, particularly the enlargement of the country to the southwest through the annexation of Texas, and to the northwest by the settlement of Oregon; together with the Mexican War, and the settlement of the questions arising from the annexation of Texas, New Mexico, and California.

From 1840 to 1848 there was a seesaw of national parties, first Whig, then Democrat, then Whig again. Most of the questions in that time arose from the expansion of the country and the annexation of territory. First trappers, then traders, and then immigrants pushed along the Oregon Trail to the Columbia River. In the South great efforts were made to annex Texas. The turning point was the election of 1844, which brought into the White House President Polk, who wanted at the same time to annex Texas, New Mexico, California, and Oregon.

As President, Polk had the opportunity to carry out most of this program. He accepted the annexation of Texas which had just gone through Congress. He pushed troops down into the disputed belt beyond the Nueces River. He forced war upon Mexico, on the plea that the Mexicans had begun it; and American troops under his direction occupied New Mexico and California. He came to an understanding with Great Britain, by which the United States retained the most valuable part of the disputed territory of Oregon.

These annexations brought up in Congress the question of slavery in the new territories. The Wilmot Proviso, which passed the House (1846) but not the Senate, showed that a large part of the North was determined to have no new slave states.

The discovery of gold in California (1848) settled the question of slavery there, and also defeated the compromise of $36^{\circ} 30'$ across the country to the Pacific; for the Californians would hear of neither plan. This left to be settled the two questions of the boundary of Texas and of slavery in New Mexico; to

these were added the problems of fugitive slaves and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. All these questions were settled by the Compromise of 1850, framed by Henry Clay and supported by northerners and southerners, Whigs and Democrats. In spite of the objections of radical antislavery men, the act was passed in 1850 and was supposed to be a finality.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 232) 1. How was the presidential campaign of 1840 carried on? 2. Why did President Tyler and the Whigs fall out? 3. How was the dispute on the Maine boundary settled?

(§ 233) 4. How and when was Michigan admitted to the Union? 5. What was the Hudson's Bay Company? 6. What was Oregon and how was it occupied by European nations? 7. How was the interior fur trade carried on? 8 (For an essay). Adventures in the interior fur trade.

(§ 234) 9. What was the Oregon Trail and how was it opened? 10 (For an essay). Accounts of early journeys on the Oregon Trail. 11. How did Christian missions begin in the far Northwest? 12. Who was

Frémont and what did he discover? 13. Who was Dr. Whitman and what did he do for the country?

(§ 235) 14 (For an essay). Accounts of journeys on the Santa Fe Trail. 15. How and when was Arkansas admitted to the Union? 16. How much territory did the Texans claim? 17. Why was there objection to the annexation of Texas?

(§ 236) 18. Who were nominated and who was elected in the presidential campaign of 1844? 19. How was Texas admitted to the Union? 20. How were Florida and Wisconsin admitted? 21. How was the dispute about Oregon settled? 22 (For an essay). Accounts of early journeys to Oregon.

(§ 237) 23. What grievances had the United States against Mexico? 24 (For an essay). Accounts of Taylor's march and first fight with the Mexicans. 25. What were the principal battles of the Mexican War? 26 (For an essay). Accounts of the soldiers' life in the war. 27. What territory did the United States gain? 28. How was the boundary with Mexico settled?

(§ 238) 29. What action was taken relative to slavery in the new annexation? 30. What was the Wilmot Proviso? 31. What was the result of the election of 1848?

(§ 239) 32. What serious questions were raised by the annexation of New Mexico and California? 33 (For an essay). Early accounts of gold digging in California. 34. How did the Californians look on slavery?

(§ 240) 35. What questions respecting slavery had to be settled by Congress? (See also § 239.) 36. What was the Omnibus Bill? 37. How did leading statesmen look on the Compromise of 1850? 38 (For an essay). Account of Webster's 7th of March speech. 39. What were the details of the Compromise of 1850? 40. Why was the compromise not a "finality"?

CHAPTER XXII

YOUNG AMERICA (1829-1861)

242. Young Folks and Old Folks. — While the men and women of the Republic were so busy, what were the children doing? There were plenty of them, for more than half the population was under twenty-one years of age. For instance, the city of New York in 1860 contained about 400,000 boys and girls. But children were not expected then to have all the delicacies, privileges, and pleasures of older people. Even in wealthy families they lived simple lives, rarely left the town or village where they lived, had little money to spend, and were expected to give way to their elders. An old gentleman, who was a child at that time, when asked whether he liked the white meat of chicken, answered that he had never found out, because when he was a child it never reached him, and now that he was old, it never came past his children.

Intimate family life was perhaps more common then than now, because the children had fewer interests outside their own dwellings. Few attractions drew children from their homes, and in many households in country or city only one room was warmed in winter evenings, and early bedtimes were enforced. It was easy for parents and children to gather together, talking things over, doing light work, and reading aloud. Children who were away from home were expected to write long, frequent, and careful letters. In the large families the oldest children helped to bring up the young ones, and were often a kind of second father and mother to them.

People were fond of talking about the past, and often gave to children historic names, such as George Washington or Andrew Jackson, or Bible names. Shearjasub Bourne was a name handed down from father to son in a Cape Cod family for five or six generations. Then, as now, good fathers and

mothers told their children of their own early lives and struggles, and shared the events of the children's daily lives.

243. Children's Work. — In the factory and mining villages previous to 1860, thousands of children were cruelly overworked and grew up in ignorance, because there was no time for them to go to school (§ 223). On the farms, then as now, every healthy boy and girl had regular tasks. They began while little to go for the cows, to water the stock, to lay the table, to wipe the dishes, to "rake after" the hay wagon, to care for lambs and little calves, to run cultivators, and to bend their backs over planting potatoes or weeding gardens. They thought it no hardship, and that is the way to learn practical farming.

The girls did housework, picked fruit, helped at butter and cheese making, and joined in cutting and sewing together a variety of pieces for patchwork quilts. Much of the churning, which was rather hard work, was left to the girls. In the evenings all hands might shell corn, or work the apple parers and sausage grinders.

Many town boys and girls had similar duties which cannot be performed in modern crowded cities. Most comfortable families kept a horse or a cow, chickens and pigs, which had to be cared for by the young folks. Vegetable and fruit gardens had to be weeded, grass had to be cut, errands run, fences whitewashed; all this required of the boys from one to four hours a day of useful work for the family. Country, village, and town girls almost all took part in the housework and did much sewing, for no girl was thought well brought up who could not use her needle handily, mend her own clothes and the family stockings, and make some of her clothes. Often she made shirts for her father and brothers. The newly invented sewing machine (§ 225) was a great help in these tasks.

Outside the family, boys could begin early to earn wages for other people as errand boys; or they went into a shop to learn a trade, or worked as drivers of horses, as boys do now. Those who had enough schooling to write a good hand and were quick at figures could find work as clerks, bookkeepers, and telegraph operators, or as salesmen (then usually called



A country school in the Forties

"clerks") in stores; and a bright boy might expect to go on up till he became a storekeeper or mill owner.

For the girls there were few chances of wage work except "working out" in neighboring families or going into the woolen and cotton mills. There were no women stenographers or library assistants. But plenty of bright girls sixteen years old or upwards were welcomed as school-teachers, though the pay was small and the work might last only a few months in the year. In the country the teacher who did not live at home was expected to "board round" among the families in the district. A capable girl of sixteen could manage her school for some time, unless, as often happened, one of the big boys insisted on marrying her.

In the South the children of white farmers and of "poor white" families helped in the housework and farm work, but had few cattle to care for. On the plantations slave children of nine or ten were expected to begin as "quarter hands"; that is, to do one fourth of a grown man's task.

244. Children's Play. — Children at home seldom had too much to do, and they found time for happy play. Nowhere were children shut up in narrow streets lined with high buildings. The largest cities contained plenty of vacant lots and grassy streets where children were undisturbed. There were no professional games to attend. Nobody belonged to regular baseball or football or rowing clubs, but boys got great fun out of such ball games as "rounders." This was an early form of baseball, in which the players had the fun of trying to "patch out" the runner by hitting him with the ball while he was running between bases.

The boys and girls, especially in the villages, were often brought up like members of one big family. They went to Sunday school, church, and day school together, played together, and were fond of big-side games in which all could join, such as "pom-pom-pull-away," "prisoner's base," and "barny ball," where one excited group sent the ball over the top of a high building, and the other waited for it on the other side. Children loved good noisy, running, yelling, squealing games.

Even in cities the open country was never far off, and most boys were within reach of a pond or creek or river or brook or bay, where they could enjoy the manly sport of swimming. On the seacoast, boys were brought up to handle boats, one of the best exercises for the muscles and the judgment. Many boys in city and country were used to driving and riding horses; and in the South boys were brought up not only to ride but to hunt and shoot and camp out in the open.

The favorite pleasures of modern young people were hardly known in those days. The theater was often a rough place, and the descendants of the Puritans believed that all plays were immoral. Dancing was forbidden by several of the national churches, and frowned upon by others. Millions of boys and girls grew up without ever learning to dance. Still there were dancing parties and great balls in all the large places. The southern negroes invented several dances, clogs and double shuffles and the like, which they performed with great delight. Playing cards also were widely disapproved because they could be used for money games of chance; and it was thought that young people who were accustomed to them would be more likely to become gamblers. Several harmless card games were therefore invented, such as the game of "Familiar Quotations."

245. Holidays and Amusements. — The old-fashioned schools and colleges held six days a week, but the habit grew up of taking out first a Saturday half holiday and then the whole day. The colleges were in session most of the summer, but had a winter vacation of six weeks or more so that the students could go out and teach school. The town schools were in session about six or eight months during the year; but the rural "district" schools were closed more than half the year, for children could not be spared from the farm work.

Regular holidays were few. The Fourth of July was the only day celebrated throughout the country; the old Puritans thought it wrong to celebrate Christmas, and in New England the schools were held on that day; but if the boys could get into the schoolhouse early, and "bar the teacher out," they earned the holiday. The German immigrants brought over

their habit of celebrating Christmas with a tree and gifts, and a joyous holiday season, and the custom spread to families of other races. Thanksgiving was a day only for New England people and their descendants.

One of the amusements was the traveling show, especially the circus, with its bareback riders, its live elephants, its comical clowns, and its green young man who tried to ride the trick mule and turned out to be one of the circus hands.

Few people could afford to take long journeys, and trips to Europe were as uncommon as trips to India nowadays. Hardly anybody in the North thought of a summer vacation; a few found their way to Clifton Springs, or Saratoga, or Niagara Falls. Most children, both boys and girls, had the delight of running barefoot much of the summer. Southern families who could afford it took their carriages in the summer and drove off into the mountains to visit such places as the Natural Bridge of Virginia, White Sulphur Springs, and the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky.



Interior of an old country school

246. Common Schools and Grade Schools. — By 1840 the northern states all had a complete common school system intended to reach every corner and hamlet. Public town and village schools existed in most of the southern states; and North Carolina tried to build up a rural system. The purpose was to give to every white child an opportunity for what we

call a "common school education"; that is, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and spelling. In time these schools were gradually divided into two types, common or district schools, and grade schools.

The country district school was open to all the nearby children; one teacher in one room taught the boys and girls of all ages. Those schools usually had poor buildings and apparatus. Many were taught by young people who had no training but that of the district school.



A schoolboy's caricature of his teacher, the later historian, Bancroft

In places where the children were numerous enough to be assorted, ward or grade schools were organized, but they were poorly housed, and had a changing list of teachers. In many cities schools were controlled by politicians who put their own friends in with little regard for their ability. Hence principals and teachers might lose their places if a Whig or a Democratic school board or committee was elected.

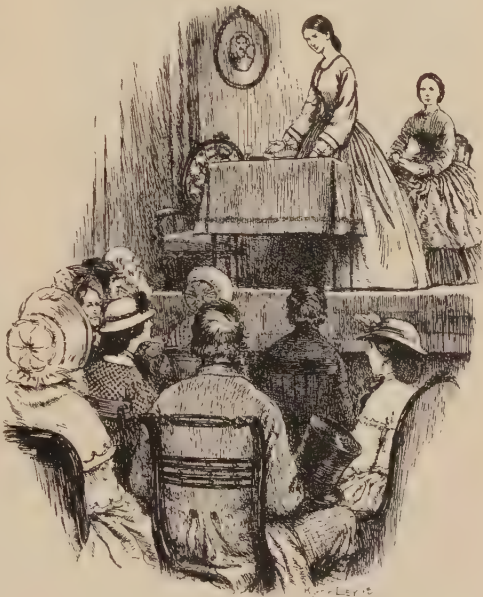
The different grade schools in the cities were for a long time disconnected from one another. Then city school superintendents were appointed to study the best methods, to keep the various schools in line, and to direct all the teachers. All sorts of ways of interesting children were invented, such as "singing geography." A whole school would sing, to the tune of "Pop goes the Weasel,"

"State of Maine, Augusta, on the Kennebec River,
State of Maine, Augusta, on the Kennebec River,
Florida, Tallahassee, is an inland city,
Florida, Tallahassee, is an inland city."

New writing books were introduced with clear and beautiful script, especially the Spencerian system. Children did their figuring on slates, in rattling wooden frames. Better textbooks were written, though the school histories of the

United States still dealt with little except the American Indians and the battles of the Revolution.

247. Secondary Schools. — A few colonial New England towns set up public Latin schools (§ 59), and in 1821 Boston added an English high school for boys. Some other northern and western cities took up the idea, which had been a favorite notion with Thomas Jefferson. These high schools were excellent schools with wide-awake principals and teachers. They taught English literature, Latin, Greek, algebra and geometry, physics, chemistry, and astronomy from textbooks, aided by experiments shown by the instructor. They made much of "rhetoricals"; that is, declamations, essays, and debates; they gave a good all-round training, and some of them prepared for college.



A Woman's Rights meeting about 1860

Most boys who wanted to go to college studied with a tutor, perhaps the village minister. In all parts of the country existed academies and other private schools with moderate fees and good teachers. "Spelling-down" contests drew out not only school children but older men and women. Singing schools were a great advantage, for they prepared a lifelong pleasure by teaching young people how to read music and to use the voice, and made possible the chorus choirs and congregational singing in churches.

248. Education of Girls. — Girls did not fare so well as boys in education. They shared the district and ward schools, but

beyond that point they went to "select schools"; that is, private schools with a fee; or to boarding schools where they had poor teaching and were expected to learn little except "accomplishments," such as playing on the piano, drawing and painting, and singing. Between 1840 and 1860 a few separate high schools were set up for girls; and in a few cities, among them Philadelphia, Providence, and Cleveland, public high schools were open to boys and girls, who were educated together in a very wholesome way. The teaching force included both men and women, who felt a strong personal interest in the welfare and training of the pupils.



Mary Lyon, founder of Mt. Holyoke College. From a miniature of 1832

However defective the schooling of girls, the country abounded in well educated women who became active in all the reform movements of the time. Frances Wright was a leader in what we should now call a kind of "settlement" work for negroes. Lucretia Mott, a Quakeress, and Julia Ward Howe were noted speakers in the antislavery cause. "Fanny Fern," whose real name was Mrs. Sara P. W. Parton, was a clever writer in

newspapers and magazines. Mary Lyon founded a famous girls' school at Mount Holyoke. In 1833 the new frontier college of Oberlin (Ohio) opened its doors to women — the first college to award them the A.B. degree.

249. Colleges and Professional Schools. — From 1820 to 1860 the colleges grew rapidly in numbers and several state universities were founded, which had the whole or part of their support out of the state treasury. The first of these, the University of Virginia (1825), was equal to any of the northern institutions of the time. It occupied a beautiful group of buildings designed by Jefferson, most of which are still standing.

In 1837 the state of Michigan provided for a state university, which was not opened, however, until 1841.

North Carolina and South Carolina also made some provision for state colleges. In 1862 the federal government gave a magnificent land grant to every state in the Union, out of which in the course of years grew over sixty state agricultural colleges.

A few schools for engineers and scientific men were established before 1861, some as parts of public or private universities; others as separate schools, such as the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, New York. West Point, New York, was made a first-class school for the training of soldiers, and during the Mexican War a government naval academy was set up at Annapolis, Maryland. From these two schools came many famous generals and admirals.

250. Summary. — Since so many chapters have been devoted to the work of public men, business men, farmers, and railroad men, it is fitting that one chapter be devoted especially to the lives of the children and youths seventy-five years ago.

Young people, three quarters of a century ago, were of the same make-up as young people nowadays — healthy, lively boys and girls. Families lived more inside their own houses than they do now, and perhaps parents were better acquainted with their own children.

Nearly all children did some work — some of them in cruelly hard employments in mills and mines; most of them shared



(c) *Detroit Pub. Co.*

Part of the colonnade at the University of Virginia

light indoor and outdoor work on their own farms and in their own houses. Boys, especially in the North and West, had a chance to earn a living, and to work up into good places. For girls there was little paid employment except teaching, domestic service, and mill work. On the plantations the half-grown colored children worked like their elders.

Play was not organized into regular sports as it is now, but children in neighborhoods played big-side games together, and boys swam, drove, and rode horses. There were few theaters. Dancing and card-playing were frowned upon, though allowed in many places.

Regular school and college vacations were short, but rural schools were held less than half of the year. There were few holidays, and very little going away from home for the summer except in the South. Country district schools and town grade schools existed in the northern and western states, and town schools in the South, all with poor buildings and apparatus, and untrained teachers. But city systems were begun with skilled superintendents. A few public high schools for boys were founded before 1850.

Girls were admitted to the district and grade schools, and some of them went to boarding schools. At last a few high schools were opened to them; in a few places boys and girls were educated together. One college gave girls a chance to take the A.B. degree.

Some of the colleges grew into universities, and several state universities were founded, and a new kind of technical school was set up for training engineers and scientific men.

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Pictures. Goodrich (Peter Parley), *Pictorial Hist. of U.S.*

QUESTIONS

(§ 242) 1. What was the ordinary family life of children about 1850-1860? 2 (For an essay). Accounts of child life by those who were then children. 3. What was the usual home life? 4. How were some children named? 5 (For an essay). Account of some boy who made his own way.

(§ 243) 6. What were the outdoor tasks of boys and girls? 7. What were the indoor tasks of girls? 8. What were the money-earning occupations of girls and boys? 9. How did southern children live?

(§ 244) 10. What were the ordinary outdoor sports of children? 11. What were their ordinary indoor amusements?

(§ 245) 12. What were the ordinary sessions of schools and colleges? 13. What were the usual holidays? 14. What traveling amusements were there? 15. What sorts of journeys and trips did well-to-do people take?

(§ 246) 16. How were the country schools carried on? 17. How were city schools organized? 18 (For an essay). A day in country schools of that period. 19. What sort of books and apparatus did children use in school? 20 (For an essay). Accounts of old school books.

(§ 247) 21. How were the high schools carried on? 22. What special schools and schooling did children enjoy? 23 (For an essay). Accounts of singing in a choir.

(§ 248) 24. How were girls educated? 25. Name some famous women leaders and writers of this period.

(§ 249) 26. How did the colleges and universities develop? 27. How did scientific and technical schools develop? 28 (For an essay). Student's life in a college of the period.

CHAPTER XXIII

SECTIONAL FEELING (1850-1860)

251. New Leaders (1850-1860). — For several years after the Compromise of 1850 politics were rather tame. Nobody any longer urged a United States Bank. No party urged a high tariff; the low duties laid by Congress in 1846 were made still lower in 1857. No one urged money appropriations for internal improvements, for Congress made immense land grants to railroads (§ 230). The result was that in the presidential election of 1852 there were really no great questions upon which the parties divided, and Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire was easily elected President by the Democrats over General Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate.

Between 1845 and 1852 the country lost by death ex-Presidents Jackson and John Quincy Adams, and the "Great Triumvirate" of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. Their places in public life were taken by younger leaders, who felt that they represented not only the sections from which they came but the whole country. The most eminent of these statesmen are the following:

William H. Seward, who had been Whig governor of New York, became the champion of the eastern opponents of slavery. He was an ardent and impulsive man, who often said more than he intended — in spite of his most intimate political friend, Thurlow Weed, the Whig "boss" of New York, who tried to keep him from being too radical. He gave great offense to the South by speaking of "a higher law than the Constitution," meaning the law of liberty.

Jefferson Davis, a Kentuckian by birth and one of the leaders in Mississippi, was the leading southern Democrat, and after Calhoun's death became the best-known proslavery statesman. He believed that slavery was the source of south-

ern wealth, and ought to be defended by parties and public men.

Salmon P. Chase, born in New Hampshire, went into the practice of law in Cincinnati. He soon became the ablest western abolitionist, and as a lawyer defended several abolitionists who were sued for aiding fugitives. He believed in action against slavery, and helped to build up several successive antislavery parties.

Stephen A. Douglas, a Vermonter by birth, spent most of his life in Illinois, where he became a Democratic leader. He was always greatly interested in the West, and favored canals and railroads. As to slavery, he was indifferent; the moral argument against it did not seem to reach his mind.

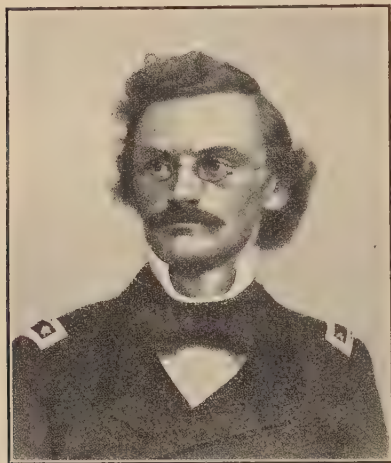


Stephen A. Douglas, 1813-1861

252. New Citizens (1850-1860).—Political conditions were somewhat changed by the constant arrival of thousands of immigrants, many of whom, at the end of five years, became naturalized citizens and joined one of the existing political parties. The Democratic party was especially popular among the Irish and the Germans. In 1851 the American people were stirred up by a visit from Louis Kossuth, who had been the leader in an attempt to set up a republic in Hungary.

In the ten years from 1850 to 1860 there were over two and a half million immigrants. A large emigration started from Ireland in 1846 because of a famine, and nearly all the large cities of the northern United States received thousands of Irishmen. Many of the other immigrants were exiles from Germany, where revolutions broke out in 1848 and many of

those who took the popular side had to leave that country. Among the highly educated and strong men who thus came to the United States was Carl Schurz, who became a thorough and patriotic American.



Carl Schurz, as an officer in the army of the United States

Part of this steady drift of immigrants from abroad found its way to the West by the old water route through the Erie Canal and the Lakes, and by the new railroads. The first railroad from the East reached Chicago in 1853 and that city at once began a wonderful growth. Hundreds of thousands of easterners also went out west. There

the foreigners and the native Americans began life side by side under like conditions, went to school together, worked together, joined the same churches, societies, and orders, and showed that the United States was a "melting pot" for all kinds of peoples.

253. National Issue of Slavery (1850-1860). — Though the old political questions had lost their force, there was one issue that aroused the bitterest personal and sectional feeling. This was slavery, which was steadily gaining ground in the South. All hope that it would die out of itself was now at an end, for the 760,000 slaves of 1790 (§ 130) had increased to nearly 3,500,000. The territory open to slavery was also enlarged through the annexation of Texas and the chance to introduce slaves into New Mexico (§§ 236, 237).

Southern leaders such as Jefferson Davis now took the ground that slavery was a good thing which ought to be extended further. The only way to bring about this result was to annex new territory, and President Pierce did his best to add to the Union the slaveholding island of Cuba. Cuba

could not be annexed without the consent of the northern members of Congress, and this was never given.

Nowadays, when slavery has entirely disappeared, it is hard to realize how strong and how important it seemed. About 8000 leading southern families owned at least three fourths of all the slaves, and took the lead in business, social life, and politics. The small slaveholders, thousands of whom owned only one slave apiece, the non-slaveholding farmers, and the poor whites (§ 196), all felt that they belonged to the master class, for they might own slaves sometime. Practically the whole white population of the South agreed with the statement later made by Alexander H. Stephens, a southern leader. In 1861 he declared that the strength of the South "rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery . . . is his natural and normal condition." In addresses, newspapers, and books, they stoutly defended slavery.

254. Proslavery Arguments. — The arguments in defense of slavery were about as follows: (1) It was a boon to the negro to bring him from Africa into a Christian country; and slavery was Christian because it was practiced by the Hebrew patriarchs, such as Abraham. (2) Slavery was good for the negro, who was happy in his lot and otherwise would starve. (3) Slavery made it possible to do work which white men could not be hired to do. (4) If the negroes were not kept as slaves, they would rise and exterminate the white people. (5) Slavery supported a desirable class of masters who had time to cultivate their minds and carry on the government. (6) The social life and business of the South were founded upon slavery, and emancipation would mean ruin for all classes. (7) To admit that slavery was wrong would brand as criminals all the slaveholders, including the best men and women in the South, and would blacken the memory of their fathers and grandfathers.

255. Antislavery Arguments. — In the North, slavery had practically ceased to exist. There were no great land-owners, and the two classes who had the most votes and exercised the greatest political power were the independent

farmers and the wage earners. Both classes looked on slavery with dislike and suspicion because the slave owners looked down on all those who had to work with their hands; and it seemed unjust to free workers that a few persons should be allowed to take all the profits from the labor of slaves.

The abolitionists kept up a rousing agitation through public meetings, newspapers, and books. James Russell Lowell aided the cause with bitter satires upon the southern slaveholders, expressed in Yankee dialect in his *Biglow Papers*. Besides the abolitionists there were thousands of antislavery men, including Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward, who hated slavery, though they did not call themselves abolitionists.

The main arguments thus put forward were about as follows: (1) Slavery was contrary to Christianity, for it denied the equality of all human souls in the sight of God. (2) Slavery was contrary to the principles of human freedom stated in the Declaration of Rights and the Declaration of Independence (§§ 92, 112). (3) Slavery was brutal and cruel, and stunted the minds and souls of the negroes. (4) Slavery had a bad effect on the morals of the whites. (5) Slave labor was crude and wasteful, and really did not pay. (6) Slavery was so weak and worthless that its supporters were afraid to allow it to be discussed in public. (7) Slavery was against modern civilization, and for that reason was prohibited in Europe and in every part of North and South America, except Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the United States.

The case against slavery was put in a thrilling form in the novel called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, a northern lady who had seen a little of slavery in Kentucky. It was a story of both the bright and the dark sides of slave life. But the public was most interested in the dark side, in the cruel master Legree, and the heart-rending fate of Uncle Tom. The southerners thought this picture of slavery unreal, but the book was read all over the United States and was translated into many languages. Millions of readers both in America and in Europe were led by it to believe that slavery was contrary to religion and humanity.

256. Fugitive Slaves (1850-1860).— The dark side of slavery was brought home to northern people by thousands of runaway slaves. When they passed across Mason and Dixon's line (§ 123) they found a secret organization of abolitionists, called the "Underground Railroad," which carried fugitives from house to house on regular routes, till they crossed the boundary into Canada. There they were safe, because Great Britain had prohibited slavery in all her colonies.

The United States provided a law for the recapture of fugitive slaves, but some of the northern states passed Personal Liberty Laws which forbade all aid to slave hunters by state officials or jails. A few states directly interfered with the working of the national Fugitive Slave Law. Wisconsin state courts said that the Fugitive Slave Law was itself void because it was contrary to the higher law of the Constitution.



Unpacking a fugitive slave, Henry "Box" Brown, who was sent in a crate from Baltimore to Philadelphia.

Many abolitionists would not hesitate to break that law openly by taking fugitive slaves out of the hands of their owners. The most striking instance was that of a slaveholder named Gorsuch, who in 1851 came from Maryland to find some runaway slaves whom he knew to be in a house in Christiana, Pennsylvania. Armed negroes inside warned him not to enter, but he said, "I'll have my property or I'll lose my life." He made a rush for the house and in a minute he was shot, and the fugitives escaped and were never found. Such interference with the law was felt by the South to show hostile feeling among the northern people.

257. Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854).— By the Missouri Compromise of 1820 (§ 191) slavery was "forever" prohibited

in every part of the Louisiana cession north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, except in the state of Missouri. Most people supposed that this compromise was final and beyond repeal. Senator Douglas of Illinois, however, was a great believer in the right of "popular sovereignty," by which he meant that the people in any state or territory ought to settle their own affairs, including slavery. A territorial government was needed west of the Missouri River. Hence in 1854 Douglas brought in a bill for the organization of the territory of Nebraska, which was



Western territories in 1854, showing the effect of the Compromise of 1850 and of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill

soon changed so as to provide for creating the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

Some action was needed and this bill would probably have gone through without trouble had not Douglas put into it his principle of popular sovereignty, which would allow the settlers in the territory to do as they liked about slavery, notwithstanding the Missouri Compromise. Douglas tried to dispose of that difficulty by adding to his bill the statement that the Compromise of 1850 (which related to New Mexico) had "superseded" the Compromise of 1820 (which related to the Louisiana Purchase).

The antislavery men at once saw that the real purpose of the bill was to make a slave state out of Kansas, so as to give the South something to balance the admission of California as a free state (§ 240). They accused Douglas of turning Kansas over to the South, in the hope that the southerners would vote for him for President. In spite of all their efforts, the bill was passed, and the two territories were organized.

258. The Republican Party (1854-1856). — To Douglas's surprise the Kansas-Nebraska Bill brought about a great political change. Just at this time arose the Native American party, usually called the "Know-nothings," whose main principle was that no foreigners ought to hold office. This party lasted only a few months, but in the elections to Congress in 1854 the Know-nothings made combinations with the "Anti-Nebraska men," a name given to both Whigs and Democrats who would not accept popular sovereignty for the territories. At the same time appeared a new political party which called itself the Republican party. These three elements elected about half of the members of the new House of Representatives which would sit from 1855 to 1857, and that prevented the proslavery men from doing anything towards making Kansas a slave state until after the next national election.

The Republican party included Free-soilers of 1848 (§ 238), antislavery Whigs, of whom Seward was the chief, and antislavery Democrats, such as Chase. Thus was brought about what the South had long expected and feared — a national party which was determined that slavery should spread no farther.

The Republican party had an issue right before it. Settlers were hurrying into Kansas. Proslavery men from Missouri and other slave states brought a few slaves; other southern immigrants had no slaves and wanted none. In the East, emigrant aid societies raised funds to send out northern farmers, all antislavery men and many of them abolitionists. At the first territorial election (1855) hundreds of men, commonly called "border ruffians," who did not live in Kansas crossed over and outvoted the settlers who were on the ground. For months there was practically a civil war in the new terri-

tory between the border ruffians and the antislavery men. The friends of the free-state men in Kansas gave the name of "Bleeding Kansas" to this unhappy controversy.

259. Growth of the Republicans (1856-1858). — When the presidential election of 1856 came along there were three parties and candidates: (1) The Republicans put up John C. Frémont of California (§ 234), a young man new to politics, who was popular with the "first voters." (2) The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, an old-line politician who was friendly to slavery. (3) The Know-nothings and what was left of the Whig party supported Millard Fillmore (§ 240). The Republicans carried all the northern and northwestern states except five, but Buchanan was elected.

The Republicans had elected many state governors, Senators, and Representatives, and looked forward with hope to the next presidential election. They were much aided in their effort to secure friends and voters by the action of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case in 1857. That court, under the guidance of Chief Justice Taney, thought that it could settle once for all the question of slavery in the territories, by deciding that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature could forbid slavery in a territory. Therefore it held that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had always been void because contrary to the higher law of the Constitution. If that were correct, nobody could prevent slavery in a territory, not even the people living there.

260. Lincoln-Douglas Debate (1858). — President Buchanan decided that the best way to stop the troubles in Kansas was to make it a state; and in 1857, he arranged that a convention should meet at Lecompton and frame a state constitution. It was a proslavery body and put in force a proslavery constitution without proper opportunity to the people to vote for or against slavery in the new state.

Buchanan then tried to induce Congress to make Kansas a slave state whether the people wished it or not. This was so opposed to the whole idea of popular sovereignty that Douglas fought against the Lecompton constitution with all his might and defeated it in Congress.

Throughout this turmoil a country lawyer named Abraham Lincoln was living quietly at Springfield, Illinois. He had served in the state legislature and one term in Congress, but for several years had been out of public life. In 1858 the Illinois Republicans chose him to be their candidate against the mighty Douglas, for election to the United States Senate. Lincoln had the courage to challenge Douglas, the fiercest and ablest stump speaker in the country, to a series of joint debates.

At last came the opportunity for which Lincoln had waited. In seven hot debates, from end to end of the state, he defended his great doctrine that "a house divided against itself cannot stand . . . this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." He denied the value of popular sovereignty, and compelled Douglas to admit in the so-called "Freeport Doctrine," that perhaps the people of a territory might prevent slavery by "unfriendly legislation." This statement enabled Douglas to win the election for the Senate. But Jefferson Davis and his friends would have nothing to do with a man who would not defend slavery through thick and thin, and looked on him as an enemy. As for Lincoln, his ability and eloquence placed him at once among the great leaders of his party and the strongest champions of antislavery.

261. John Brown's Raid (1859). — In 1859 the country was startled by an attempt to induce slaves to run away and form camps in the mountains where they could fight their masters. John Brown, a strong abolitionist and at one time a Kansas free-state settler, with eighteen followers captured the town of Harpers Ferry in Virginia and took possession of the government arsenal there. Brown failed to induce many negroes to join him, and after hours of fighting he was captured by marines commanded by Col. Robert E. Lee.

He was duly charged with murder and treason against the state of Virginia, had a fair and open trial, and was condemned and executed. Though he had caused the death of several innocent persons, he maintained to the last that he had done a good action. His courage impressed even his jailers; and the abolitionists and many others saw something heroic in a

man thus risking his life for lowly people whom he had never seen.

262. New Territories and States (1854-1859). — After the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, there were seven territories: Kansas, Nebraska, Washington, Oregon, Minnesota, New Mexico, and Utah. The last mentioned made trouble for the United States in this period. It was inhabited chiefly by Mormons, or members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which had been formed about thirty years before. The Mormons went from New York to Ohio, then to Missouri, and from there to Nauvoo, Illinois. Their leader or prophet, Joseph Smith, was killed by a mob (1844). Their new prophet, Brigham Young, advised them to move out to the far West. They settled near Great Salt Lake, and set up the temporary, so-called "State of Deseret." When the United



The pony express. Mail and valuable packages were carried by relays of riders along a line of stages

States created the territory of Utah in 1850 (§ 240), Young was appointed governor.

Salt Lake lay on the main highway across the continent. Lines of "overland mail coaches" ran from the Missouri River to California; a pony express carried mails at the rate of ten miles an hour, day and night; and wagon trains of emigrants were constantly passing over the route. Many complaints were made by the emigrants to California and Oregon that the Mormons interfered with them. One party was murdered at Mountain Meadow, Utah, and it was claimed that the Mormons were responsible for the attack. When President Buchanan appointed another governor than Young, the Mormons set up the objection that nobody had a right to enter the territory without their leave. The President was obliged to send out troops (1857), who occupied the territory and protected the federal officials and the trouble at last subsided.

The territory of Minnesota was admitted in 1858 as the 32d state in the Union. The population was already about 160,000, for it was a prairie region with good wheat land, which attracted settlers from the other states and from foreign countries.



Capitol building, St. Paul, Minnesota, built in 1898-1904

Oregon grew more slowly, but emigrants kept coming in by the Oregon Trail and by sea. They settled mostly along the Columbia River and in the broad and fertile Willamette Valley. Besides farming they had a timber trade from the enormous trees that grew there, and the salmon fishery was valuable. In 1859 Oregon was admitted as the 33d state in the Union with about 50,000 inhabitants. This made eighteen free states, as against fifteen slave states, and no further slave state was in sight unless Kansas could be forced to accept slavery.

263. Election of 1860. — As the country approached the election of 1860 the Republicans were growing stronger while the Democrats were divided. Four tickets were nominated, as follows: (1) The regular Democratic convention at Charleston broke up; part of the delegates assembled again and nominated Douglas. (2) The extreme proslavery Democrats held a separate convention and nominated Breckinridge of Kentucky. (3) The old Whigs who had not joined

part of it; for threats were already made that if he were elected the South would withdraw from the Union.

264. Summary. – This chapter deals with the last ten years before the Civil War, in which the North and the South grew to dislike and distrust each other, because of the existence of slavery.

A new body of political leaders came forward, of whom the most noted are Seward, Jefferson Davis, Chase, Douglas, Stephens, Lincoln, and Buchanan. Immigrants poured into the country and many of them took an active part in politics.

The North and the South were now divided about slavery. The South felt that their profits and their political strength depended upon it and defended it as good for the negro and the white population. The abolitionists and antislavery men denounced slavery with all their might, as unchristian, contrary to popular government, and bad for both negroes and masters. The most powerful attack upon slavery was the novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Fugitive slaves brought tales of their experiences to the North, and the Personal Liberty Laws passed



Statue of Abraham Lincoln by Saint-Gaudens, in
Lincoln Park, Chicago

by some of the northern states gave great offense to the South. Some fugitives were arrested by violence.

A new stage of the antislavery conflict began when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in 1854, which made it possible to create a slave state in Kansas. The result was the formation of the Republican party, a large national antislavery organization. The Republicans were not quite able to elect a President in 1856, but were aided by the popular opposition to the Dred Scott decision and by the Lecompton constitution.

Abraham Lincoln came out as the antislavery champion, and opposed Stephen A. Douglas. John Brown, by his raid in Virginia, showed to what extremes some abolitionists would go. Two new states were admitted to the Union, Minnesota and Oregon, both of them free. In the election of 1860 the Democrats were divided and Lincoln was elected President, receiving few votes except in the free states; and threats of secession were made.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 251) 1. Why was party spirit low in the election of 1852? 2. What changes were there in political leaders? 3. What kind of statesman was William H. Seward? Jefferson Davis? Salmon P. Chase? Stephen A. Douglas?

(§ 252) 4. How did immigrants affect parties? 5. What made immigration lively about 1850? 6. What effect had immigration on the West?

(§ 253) 7. How did slavery affect public feeling? 8. How did slavery affect foreign policy? 9. What was the influence of slavery in the South?

10 (For an essay). Life on a great slave plantation.

(§ 254) 11. What were the main arguments in favor of slavery?

(§ 255) 12. Why was slavery disliked by the North? 13 (For an essay). Account of an abolitionist meeting. 14. What were the main arguments against slavery? 15. What was the effect of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*?

(§ 256) 16 (For an essay). Experiences of a fugitive slave. 17. What was the "Underground Railroad"? 18. What were the Personal Liberty Laws? 19. Why did the rescue of fugitive slaves arouse the South? 20 (For an essay). The Christiana fugitive slave case.

(§ 257) 21. How did the Missouri Compromise work? 22. What was the doctrine of popular sovereignty? 23. What was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? 24. Why did the antislavery men oppose the bill?

(§ 258) 25. What was the "Know-nothing" party? 26. How did the Kansas-Nebraska Bill affect the political parties? 27. How was the Republican party formed? 28. What was the cause of the troubles in Kansas?

(§ 259) 29. What was the result of the election of 1856? 30. What was the Dred Scott case?

(§ 260) 31. What was the Lecompton constitution? 32 (For an essay). Account of the debates between Lincoln and Douglas. 33. What was the Freeport Doctrine; and why was it bad for Douglas?

(§ 261) 34. What was the John Brown raid? 35 (For an essay). Adventures of John Brown.

(§ 262) 36. How did the Mormon church arise? 37 (For an essay). The Mormon emigration to Salt Lake. 38. How did troubles arise in Utah? 39. When and how was Minnesota admitted to the Union? 40. When and how was Oregon admitted?

(§ 263) 41. Who were the candidates for the presidency in 1860? 42. (For an essay). Nomination of Lincoln at Chicago. 43. What was the result of the election?

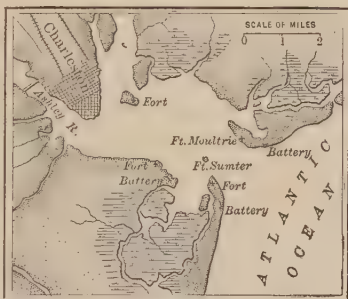
CHAPTER XXIV

FIRST PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR (1860-1863)

265. Secession. — Though Lincoln would have been satisfied simply to stop slavery from spreading further, South Carolina at once called a convention, as had been done in 1832 (§ 212), to speak the mind of the people of the state. In the midst of this excitement Congress met (December 3), and President Buchanan sent in a message which argued that no state has a right to secede from the Union, but if a state does secede, the Federal government has no right to prevent it.

Such weak reasoning could not hold South Carolina back. On December 20, a convention passed an ordinance declaring that the state was no longer a part of the Union; and the Charleston newspapers began to print dispatches from the North under the title "Foreign Intelligence."

All parts of the state obeyed the ordinance, except three forts in Charleston harbor which had been built by the Federal government and held Federal troops. While commissioners were in Washington demanding that these forts should be given up, Major Anderson, who was in command, moved his troops (December 26) from the weak Fort Moultrie to the strong Fort Sumter. Buchanan was ready to turn Fort Sumter over to South Carolina, and thereby to admit that a state could secede. His Cabinet prevented this. From that time he was a mere figurehead; he had no power as President.



Charleston Harbor and Fort Sumter

As had been planned beforehand, six more states quickly seceded, taking in the whole belt from South Carolina to Texas; but the eight other slave states held off. Delegates from the seceded states formed at Montgomery, Alabama, a government which they called the Confederate States of America (February, 1861), and Jefferson Davis was chosen its President. Nearly all the United States arsenals, public buildings, forts, and navy yards in the South were seized. Volunteer soldiers were drilling all through that section; but the southerners could not believe that the North would fight, and for several months they allowed the United States still to carry their mails.

266. Attempts to Compromise (1860-1861). — What could be done to save the Union? Many southern men loved it; among them was Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia (§ 253), who urged that there was no good reason for secession. Why could not some law or constitutional amendment be passed that would satisfy both parties?

Special committees were appointed in both houses of Congress to work on this problem, but neither Jefferson Davis, who represented the South, nor Seward, who was spokesman for the Republicans, would make concessions that the other side could accept. We now know that Abraham Lincoln advised his friends not to vote for any compromise that would allow the South to annex more slave territory and admit more slave states; and everybody thought that unless slavery could have more room it would surely die out. Nevertheless, Lincoln could not believe that the South really meant to leave the Union.

The compromise committees failed, as did other plans. When Congress expired (March 3, 1861), it was clear that the seven Confederate states meant to stay out of the Union; and therefore the only good that compromise could do would be to keep in the Union all or part of the eight other slave states. Meanwhile twelve southern Senators and thirty-one members of the House had left Congress. All this while Major Anderson, with his little garrison, was holding on in Fort Sumter, waiting for orders from the new President.

267. Right or Wrong of Secession (1861). -- When Lincoln was inaugurated (March 4, 1861) secession was already a fact. When the southern members withdrew from Congress the northern majority admitted Kansas as a free state, with 110,000 people. This made thirty-four states, but seven of them had ceased to take any part in the Union. The critical questions were: Would the other slaveholding states follow? Would all the nineteen free states stand by the United States government in resisting secession?

Here was one of the many cases where what people think is as important as what they do. Without doubt most of the southern people thought secession was right; it was believed and taught by their great public men, like Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis, and Alexander H. Stephens. Most of the thinking men and women of the South considered the Union to be what it was called in nullification times, a "compact between sovereign states" (§ 213). If the North would not stand by the Constitution as the South understood it, and protect slavery, the southerners held that they were released from all obligations to the Union, and could secede. They looked on secession as one of the rights which by the Constitution were "reserved to the states respectively or to the people." Hence, they always resented being called "rebels"; they said that they were not in rebellion, but were carrying on a "war between the states."

A few of the northern people accepted that doctrine, and many more thought that if the southern people were bent on secession there was no use in trying to stop them. Horace Greeley was writing day after day in the *New York Tribune*, "Let the erring sisters go in peace." William Lloyd Garrison (§ 204) was pleased at the idea of at last being rid of the slaveholders.

Yet by far the greater number of northerners believed with Webster that the Union was "a people's government"; that the Constitution bound every state that had ratified it, and every new state that had been admitted into the Union; and that secession was nothing but treason and rebellion. They felt that the United States of America was greater than

the states, and that to break up the Union was also a sin in the sight of God.

Many southerners who sincerely loved the Union, such as Robert E. Lee, believed that if their state seceded, they were morally bound to go along. We must respect their honesty,



General Robert E. Lee, 1807-1870

but we must also respect the honesty of General Winfield Scott, Admiral David Farragut, and scores of other southerners who saw their duty differently, and gave their loyalty and service to the United States, though their own states seceded.

268. Real Reasons for Secession (1861).

— In any case, most northern people and some southerners felt that there was no danger to the South which required secession. The Democrats, who were not hostile to slavery, would still have a majority in the Senate, and perhaps in the next House, and the majority of the

Supreme Court favored slavery; the President would be the only antislavery part of the government. Let us set down the main reasons put forward by the southern secessionists for their action:

(1) The northern states would not perform their duties; an evidence was the Personal Liberty Laws (§ 256) which

interfered with the capture of fugitive slaves. — On this point Lincoln advised that, as far as such laws were contrary to the Constitution, they should be withdrawn.

(2) The North was banded together to prevent the further spread of slavery. — This was the main reason for secession as stated in the southern newspapers, speeches, and addresses prepared by the seceding conventions.

(3) The strong language of the abolitionists against "our domestic institutions" could no longer be borne. — Robert Toombs of Georgia said that the matter would be settled if the North would call slavery right.

(4) Whatever Lincoln might do, the North as a section was opposed to slavery and would use its majority of states and voters to destroy slavery. — That fear was justified though the danger was not yet close.

On the other hand, the Republicans, who were now made up nearly equally of former Whigs and former Democrats, stated their complaints about as follows:

(1) The South had for years browbeaten the North, and had tried to stop the discussion of slavery in public meetings, in newspapers, and even in Congress.

(2) The South had annexed Texas and New Mexico so as to provide more slave states, and was trying to annex Cuba for the same purpose.

(3) The South demanded that the northern states should allow slaveholders to hold slaves in the free states for short periods.

(4) The South had broken the slavery compromises and the Constitution, and was willing to destroy the Union which had done so much for both sections.

269. Outbreak of War (April, 1861). — It chanced that the issue soon changed from arguments about secession to the vital question whether Fort Sumter should be given up to the southern Confederacy. In January, Buchanan's administration sent the merchant steamer *Star of the West* to carry provisions to the garrison; but it was fired upon by the South Carolina batteries, and turned back. After that everybody waited till Lincoln should be inaugurated.

As soon as the new President appointed a new Cabinet, he asked for its advice about Fort Sumter. If he strengthened the fort the Confederacy would surely attack it; but to give it up would be an admission that South Carolina had a right to secede. Lincoln was convinced that in either case war would break out; for if the North and the South could not agree under a joint Federal government, how could they be friends as two rival nations?

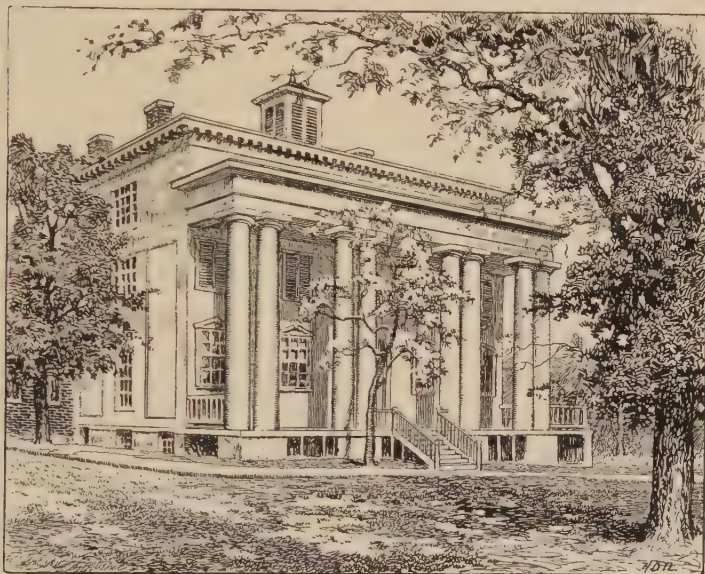
Lincoln, therefore, made up his mind to send provisions to Fort Sumter by a war fleet. In fulfillment of a promise, he gave notice that he had decided on such action; but the Confederate government hesitated to issue orders to attack. Robert Toombs said it would bring on war, but President Davis made the final decision, and early on the morning of April 12, 1861, the Confederate batteries opened fire. The garrison defended itself, till the buildings were set on fire by the shells, and the masonry was smashed. The Federal fleet arrived but lay helpless outside the harbor, the entrance to which was covered by Confederate batteries. After thirty hours of bombarding, the fort was so damaged that Anderson surrendered.

This result was fortunate for the North, for actual war was begun by an attack upon the flag of the United States. Lincoln at once appealed to all the states which had not seceded, to furnish militia to put down "an insurrection." Four more states forthwith seceded — Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Federal troops were soon sent to the other border slave states. Delaware was loyal to the Union. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were divided, though apparently in all three the majority was for the Union. The Germans of St. Louis helped to prevent their state from seceding.

The eleven states which had combined as the Confederate States of America set up their capital at Richmond, Virginia. All the remaining twenty-three states stood by the Union, though California and Oregon were too far away to take a serious part in the struggle.

270. Campaign of 1861. — The United States was in no condition to carry on war. Out of 2,300 military and naval

officers 550 joined the Confederacy; the few thousand troops were scattered in the West; and some of the best vessels of the little navy fell into the hands of the Confederates. Washington was in sight of the Virginia hills which the Confederacy claimed as a part of its territory. President Lincoln, who, under the Constitution, was commander in chief of the



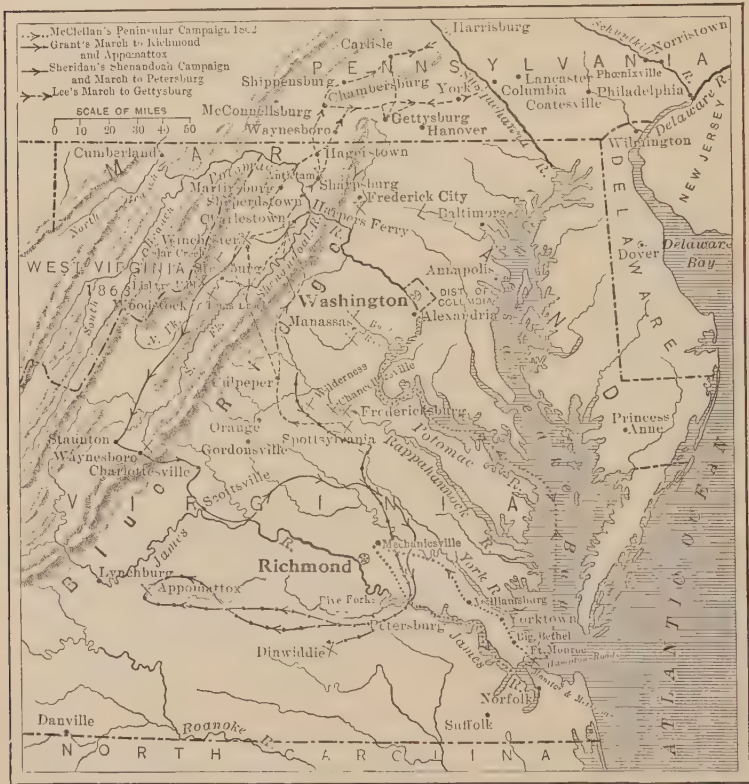
The "White House of the Confederacy," Richmond, Va. This was Jefferson Davis's home during the war and is now fitted up as a museum of Confederate relics

army and navy, was not a military man; and many of the officers had seen little service in the field.

The southerners, on the other hand, were directed by President Davis, who had been a good officer in the Mexican War, and then Secretary of War. They were used to outdoor life and military weapons, and they had a score of ports out of which they expected to send their cotton, and into which military supplies were to come from abroad.

Most foreign observers who watched the beginning of the war expected that the Confederacy would succeed, but three

things were not foreseen by the South: the fighting spirit of the North, the blockade of the southern coast, and the courage of Abraham Lincoln. In a few weeks 90,000 men, mostly volunteers, were sent to the front. Washington was protected by new forts manned by these volunteers, and an army was



The campaigns of the Civil War in the East

raised in the West which occupied St. Louis, Louisville, and other important points.

The first serious fight was the battle of Bull Run (or Manassas, as it was called by the southerners), July 21, 1861. The Union army along Bull Run, composed chiefly of raw and untrained troops, attacked the Confederates. After a hard day's

fight they were beaten by equally raw and untrained southern troops and retreated in a rout to the shelter of Washington. Instead of giving way, Congress and the President were nerved by this defeat to prepare for a big war; and in the course of a year about 660,000 troops were raised by the North, and probably 400,000 or 500,000 in the South.

Meanwhile the Federal navy department was bending every energy to build up a blockading fleet. It put into service old ships of war, merchant steamers, ferryboats, tugs, sailing vessels — anything to cruise off the southern ports and to capture vessels bound in and out. In a few months these ships had such a tight grip that the South was not able to send out the cotton crop of 1861 and later years, and quantities of military stores were captured on their way into the Confederacy.

271. Campaign of 1862. — The first big defeat of the Confederates was in the West, where they held southern Kentucky and the Mississippi River below the Ohio. General Ulysses S. Grant, a former army officer, was put in command of a Union army which captured forts Henry and Donelson near each other on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers (February, 1862; map page 362). That compelled the Confederates to give up Kentucky and to loose their hold on Missouri. Two months later Grant was attacked and his army forced back at the battle of Pittsburg Landing (or Shiloh). But the Confederate commander, Albert Sidney Johnston, was killed and the Confederates retreated. Then the Union troops and gunboats pushed down the Mississippi River as far as the strong fortifications of Vicksburg.

A few weeks after Shiloh, a Union fleet under Flag Officer (later Admiral) Farragut ascended the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico and took the city of New Orleans (April 25), which was held to the end of the war. This was a terrible blow to the South, for that city was a great cotton-shipping port.

General George B. McClellan was put in command of the eastern army. During the winter and spring he was drilling a great army at Washington, and in April he set out to capture

Richmond, by coming up the peninsula between the James and York rivers. Just as he was about to move, a Confederate ironclad called the *Virginia*, which was rebuilt from the old frigate *Merrimac*, came out of Norfolk. The only force to oppose her was a few wooden ships of war. The *Merrimac* easily defeated and sank the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*, whose old-fashioned cannon made no impression on her iron-clad hull. There was almost a panic in Washington, where it was expected that the *Merrimac* would come up the Potomac.

Next day (March 9) a little craft called the *Monitor* appeared at Newport News. She was built by a Swedish engineer named Ericsson, on a new plan, with big guns in a revolving turret. The *Monitor* dared to engage the big *Merrimac* in this, the first sea fight in history between ironclad vessels. At the end of the fight the *Merrimac* retired to Norfolk, and never again performed any service for the Confederacy.

McClellan moved slowly up to a point within sight of Richmond, where for several days the two great armies fought each other. Joseph E. Johnston, in command of the Confederates, was wounded, and Lee was put in command and continued till the end of the war. McClellan was beaten with great loss and obliged to fall back to the James River, where the gunboats could support him.

If McClellan lost his nerve, President Lincoln did not. Three times more during the year 1862 the Union army of the Potomac engaged in battle with the Confederate army of Virginia. Part of it was beaten at second Bull Run. At Antietam (September, 1862) it won a victory, but the Confederate army almost held its own, and withdrew in good order. Finally, the Union army made a desperate attack at Fredericksburg, but was defeated. Meantime the western army under its great generals, Grant and Sherman, was getting ready to force open the Mississippi.

272. Vicksburg and Gettysburg (1863).— In the summer of 1863 two campaigns, one in the West and one in the East, virtually decided the outcome of the war. Grant was a man of whom Lincoln said, "I can't spare this man; he fights." Convinced that the fortress of Vicksburg was not too strong

to be taken, Grant circled around the city, south, east, north, and then west till he came up against its defenses.



Union trenches around Shirley House at Vicksburg, 1863. From a war-time photograph. The soldiers lived in the dugouts

The earthworks of the two armies are still preserved and make one of the most interesting parks in the world. After heavy fighting on the river and on land, Vicksburg surrendered (July 4). Lincoln thankfully said: "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

In the East, after defeating the army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville, Lee made what proved to be the last attempt to penetrate the North by a southern army. York and other towns in Pennsylvania were captured by the Confederates, and Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York were alarmed. General George E. Meade was put at the head of the Union army and threw it across the path of Lee at Gettysburg. On the third day of terrible fighting, Lee made his last effort, by ordering Pickett's division of 15,000 men to charge on the Union lines (July 3). The gallant effort failed; a few Con-

federates reached "the high tide of the Confederacy" on the ridge south of the town, but the attack was hurled back. The next day the Confederates retreated, and from that time to the end of the war Lee's army was on the defensive.

273. Summary. — This chapter describes the secession by the southern states and the first two years of the consequent Civil War.

South Carolina led in secession. In spite of Buchanan's weak objections, the state withdrew December 20, 1860. Major Anderson then moved his troops to Fort Sumter. Buchanan was willing to surrender that fort but was overruled. Six states followed South Carolina at once and all efforts to stop secession by compromise failed. There was a warm discussion of secession on both sides, each accusing the other of unfriendly acts.

Except the futile attempt to relieve Fort Sumter by the *Star of the West*, the Federal government did nothing until Lincoln became President. He decided to try to reënforce Fort Sumter, whereupon the Confederate government fired upon it and easily captured it (April 14, 1861). Four more southern states at once seceded, leaving twenty-three on the northern side.

The United States had a very small army and it took some time before either side was able to go to war. In the first battle of Bull Run, the Union troops were defeated, and in 1862 they were several times defeated in the East. The North set up a successful blockade, and in 1862 took New Orleans. The western army of the Union pushed down through Tennessee, fighting hard at Pittsburg Landing, and then along the Mississippi River. In 1863 Vicksburg was taken and Lee's army was defeated at Gettysburg.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 265) 1. How did President Buchanan look on secession? 2. How did South Carolina act? 3 (For an essay). Account of Anderson in Fort Sumter. 4. How was the Confederate States of America formed?

(§ 266) 5. What efforts were made to save the Union? 6. Why did the attempt at compromise fail? 7. How did secession affect Congress?

(§ 267) 8. When and how was Kansas admitted to the Union? 9. What did the southern people think about secession? 10. Why did some northerners favor secession? 11. What was the main opinion in the North about secession? 12 (For an essay). Was a southern man bound to follow his state if it seceded?

(§ 268) 13. What were the main reasons put forward to defend secession? 14. What were the main northern complaints against the South?

(§ 269) 15. How did Fort Sumter come to be significant in the quarrel? 16. Why did Lincoln finally decide to hold the fort? 17 (For an essay). Account of the capture of Fort Sumter. 18. How were the border states divided on secession? 19. How did the northern states stand on secession?

(§ 270) 20. What was the condition of the United States army and navy in 1861? 21. Why did the South expect to succeed? 22. What gave the North the hope of success? 23 (For an essay). Account of the battle of Bull Run. 24. How were the northern army and navy raised?

(§ 271) 25. How were the Confederates pushed back in the West in 1862? 26. How far did the North capture the Mississippi? 27 (For an essay). The fight between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*. 28. What was the result of the campaign against Richmond? 29. What other battles occurred in the East during 1862?

(§ 272) 30. How did Grant take Vicksburg? 31. What was the result of the battle of Gettysburg? 32 (For an essay). Pickett's charge.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PEOPLE DURING THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

274. Resources of the Sections.—The “South” in the spring of 1861 meant the area in the control of the government at Richmond. It lay south of the Confederate military line, which ran from lower Chesapeake Bay through Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri to the Indian Territory. The two sections were unequal in population, for to the north of this line lived about 22,000,000 people, to the south of it about 9,000,000. In the North were about 5,000,000 able-bodied white men, in the South about 1,500,000.

The sections were unequal also in the means of providing for and transporting soldiers and supplies. The North had the advantage in furnishing muskets, cannons, tents, clothing, and food for the soldiers and the people. The North had 22,000 miles of railroad, and held the interior water route of the Hudson River, Erie Canal, and Great Lakes, and also the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to Cairo. The South had 9000 miles of railroad and (till 1862) held the lower Mississippi to its mouth.



Sword and sash worn
by a surgeon in the
Civil War

The North had iron works in New York, Pennsylvania, and eastern Ohio; the South had only one large iron works, that at Richmond. The North had shipyards and a great fleet of merchant vessels; the South owned and built few ships. On the face of it the Federal power was from two and a half to three times as strong as the Confederate. It is no wonder

that at the beginning the northern people felt confident of success.

275. The Confederate States of America. — On the other hand, the South had many natural advantages for making war. The most obvious was a belt of rugged and wooded mountains stretching from the neighborhood of Washington to northern Alabama. The war had to be fought at the two ends of that barrier, and it was almost impossible to cross it with a large army.

In public spirit the Confederate government could count on almost the whole southern people, while many peace Democrats in the North were opposed to the war. Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee were loyal to the Union, but their aid was offset by secessionists and Confederate soldiers living in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri.

The South could not draw upon the negroes for soldiers; but great numbers went with the armies to drive horses and cook, to build forts and take care of the wounded. Above all they tilled the fields and raised the food for the armies. If the negroes had ever shown any signs of rising and massacring the whites, the southern armies would have had to give up fighting the Union troops and turn back to their own homes; but the slaves showed a strong affection for their masters.

Both sides had good material for soldiers. Southern young men were more used to outdoor life and to handling weapons; but it turned out that men from northern towns and cities stood the hardships and dangers of war as well as the farmers' boys. Still, judging by previous wars, it seemed likely that the 2,000,000 men who were first and last enlisted in the northern armies would never be able to subdue the 1,100,000 who were enrolled in the southern armies.

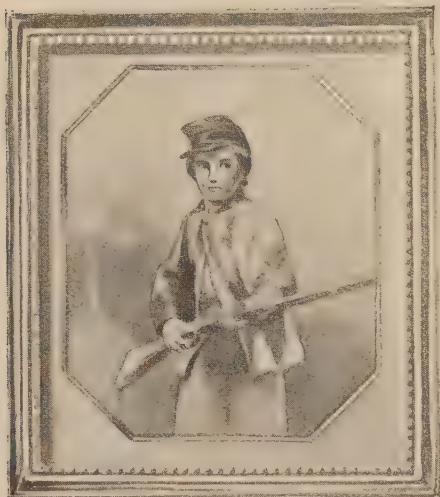
276. Raising Troops. — The first need of armies is men. Almost every soldier of the regular army, then 16,000 strong, stood by the Union in 1861, while half the southern officers in that army resigned and joined the Confederacy, including most of the later commanders of armies. New soldiers had to be raised by both sides. Both sides followed the bad example of earlier wars (§ 98) and depended on volunteers or.

ganized in poorly drilled militia regiments. As the war went on, many of the old regiments of a thousand men were worn down to a few hundred; instead of filling them up, new regiments were raised with new sets of officers.

After two years of fighting not enough men came forward as volunteers, and both sides resorted to "conscription," or compulsory enlistment. The South finally called into service every able-bodied white man between 17 and 50 years of age,

which General Grant called "robbing the cradle and the grave." Public sentiment helped conscription in the South and kept down the number of skulkers and deserters.

In 1863 a list was made up of the able-bodied northern civilians in order that a certain number should be "drafted" by lot. This led to a terrible riot in the city of New York. Negroes were hunted through the streets, a colored orphan asylum was



Johnny Clem, the youngest boy in the Union army

"I was ten when I entered the army and was twelve at Chickamauga (1863) when this photo was taken."—Letter from John L. Clem, Major General U. S. Army, Retired, April 4, 1921.

burned, and over a thousand people were killed or wounded. The riot was put down only by sending regiments of troops from the front.

Yet only a few thousand men were thus added to the army. To avoid the draft many individuals hired substitutes to go into the army for them. Cities, states, and towns offered heavy bounties in money, often as much as \$1200 in cash. This attracted a class of "bounty jumpers," who would enlist, desert, and enlist again to get another bounty.

277. The Union Government.—The President and Congress at Washington also had their troubles. Congress voted men and money freely, but set up a Committee on the Conduct of the War, which went around to the camps, took testimony, and drove the generals almost frantic. Congressmen wanted commissions as army officers for themselves and their friends. Some were made generals who had hardly smelled powder, such as Butler and Banks of Massachusetts and McClernand of Illinois; and several such generals turned out to be poor commanders.

By the end of the war the Union learned that none but trained soldiers can command armies successfully; and sooner or later all the large armies were placed under graduates of West Point—among them McClellan, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Rosecrans, and Meade.

Although the North had many factories and could buy freely in Europe, the armies were not always well supplied; for contracts were made in a hurry and contractors did not scruple to enrich themselves at the expense of the government. Yet this grasping for office and commissions and profits was far outweighed by the patriotic feeling of Congress, and by the sacrifices of the people in support of the war.

278. Northern Leaders.—Congress in Washington was full of able men who meant to have a share in carrying on the government. One of the strongest Senators was Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, an out-and-out abolitionist and profound hater of all slaveholders. In the House, Vallandigham of Ohio was the leader of the peace Democrats; he was finally tried by court-martial and sent across the military lines into the Confederacy.

Several remarkably able statesmen were in the President's Cabinet. William H. Seward, as Secretary of State, made it his business to persuade foreign nations that the North would surely win, and to prevent any recognition of the southern Confederacy as one of the nations of the world. Salmon P. Chase in the Treasury thought out plans for taxes and currency, banks and loans, and somehow managed to raise the money with which to enlist, equip, arm, and



"President Lincoln hated to sign the death warrant of deserters"

support the soldiers. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, had the temper of a Tartar, and was harsh, bitter, and unreasonable, but was honest and a good manager. Gideon Welles was Secretary of the Navy and guided his department in the "anaconda policy" of beating the Confederacy by gradually shutting it off from commerce and intercourse with foreign nations.

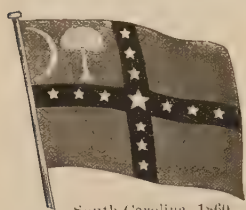
In the states several great "war governors" helped the government at Washington — especially Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, Governor Morgan of New York, Governor Brough of Ohio, Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, Governor Morton of Indiana, and Governor Yates of Illinois. Ministers such as Henry Ward Beecher, editors such as Horace Greeley, poets such as Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier, all helped to rouse the heart of the northern people and to keep them up to their work. Among the writers of humor the most amusing was "Artemus Ward," who said that he was willing to sacrifice all his wife's male relatives to the cause of the Union.

279. Abraham Lincoln. — By common consent Abraham Lincoln is the greatest American of the Civil War period. Lincoln never forgot that he was born in Kentucky, and he understood the southern people; but in his make-up and point of view he was a strong westerner. Yet when he came to the presidency he was thought by many, even in the West, to be only a cheap country lawyer.

There was little in his training and habits to suggest a great man. His clothes did not fit him; he was fond of telling funny stories; he would see all his callers. Poor and friendless soldiers, and mothers of soldiers, could always find their way to the great President, and he would help them. He hated to sign the death warrant of deserters, for, said he, "I am trying to evade the butchering business."

Upon this backwoods rail-splitter fell the duty of commanding two million soldiers, and he showed good judgment in military affairs, though he always deferred to the generals. He kept writing to them, urging them to stick to their work. For instance, "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg,

and the tail of it between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?" Again, "Follow on his flank, . . . shortening your lines while he lengthens his. . . . If he stays where



South Carolina, 1860



"Stars and Bars," 1861



"Southern Cross," 1861



Official, 1863
Confederate flags

he is, fret him and fret him." And again to Grant, "I have seen your dispatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible."

Lincoln was the best politician of his time, and the country came to learn that this tall, lank man in the White House made up his own mind, and that he could not be frightened or driven out of his policies. In the election of 1864 he was easily elected over General McClellan, who was the Democratic candidate.

Lincoln's greatness was due chiefly to his wonderful power of knowing what was going on in the hearts of the people. His brief speeches are full of noble spirit, of thoughts as true for the South as for the North. "Nowhere in the world," said he, "is presented a government of so much liberty and equality. To the humblest and poorest amongst us are held out the highest privileges and positions." "Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish

from the earth." "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right."

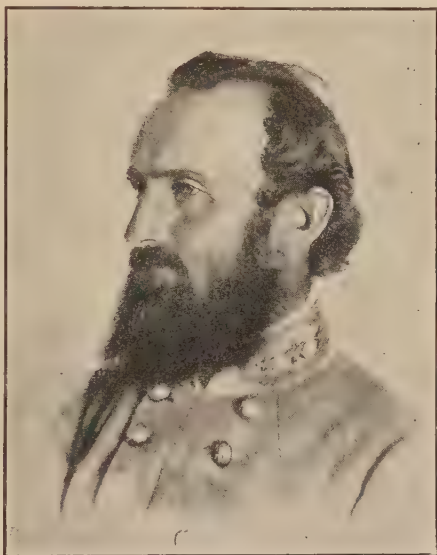
280. The Confederate Government.—The Confederate "provisional Constitution" drawn up hastily in 1861, and the "permanent Constitution" adopted by state ratifying

conventions in 1862, were strong for state rights, and they recognized the right of secession; but during the war the government at Richmond was most in the minds of the southern people. The first necessity was to beat the northern army. For that purpose much of the power was centered in the hands of President Davis. The two houses of Congress were weak and usually sat in secret session.

The Confederate government was always in money difficulties. It could not ship enough cotton through the blockade to Europe to furnish needed funds and make purchases. Everything was borrowed that could be borrowed, at home and abroad. The government also issued hundreds of millions of dollars in paper money, which lost value till it was a saying in Richmond that a lady carried her money to market in a basket and brought home her purchase in her pocket.

281. Southern Leaders.

— The South was so absorbed in the war that the ablest men sought service in the field. Two of them stand out among the great Americans, Lee and Jackson. Robert E. Lee was a member of a wealthy Virginia family. He studied at West Point, served in the Mexican War, and in 1861 was offered the command of the Union army. But he "followed his state" and resigned from the army, quickly rising to be the highest general in the Confederate service. Brave, modest, frank, humane, Lee was a model soldier and the type of a Christian gentleman. He



"Stonewall" Jackson. From a photograph, 1861

gathered about him a fine body of corps commanders, including such men as Early, Longstreet, Ewell, A. P. Hill, and "Jeb" Stuart, a dashing commander of cavalry; and they served with him throughout the war.

Another remarkable soldier and unusual man was Thomas J. Jackson, commonly called "Stonewall" Jackson, because at Bull Run somebody said, that Jackson's men stood "like a stone wall." He was a very religious man and strict with himself and with his troops. He is renowned for the length



"Stonewall Jackson's foot cavalry"

and quickness of his marches, so that his men came to be called "Stonewall Jackson's foot cavalry." He was bold — almost rash — and several times attacked the Federal lines when he was supposed to be miles away. Jackson was accidentally killed by his own men at the battle of Chancellorsville (1863).

Jefferson Davis was the most powerful member of the

Confederate government and was a strong force in the struggle. His Cabinet was always rather weak, and since he was an experienced military man, few people disputed his judgment about military movements. All the generals were bound to obey him, as their commander in chief. The labors and the nervous strain of his office told upon him. He had few confidants and intimate friends; and when the tide turned against the Confederacy, some of his people held him responsible for the defeat which he had striven with all his power to prevent.

282. Northern People at Home. The war was a part of the life of every city, town, and village in the North. While one brother fought, another brother carried on the farm or



During the Civil War envelopes bearing patriotic emblems and cartoons were much used

the store, and took care of the family. While the husband was with his regiment, the wife drew her little children around her and waited for news. Ladies' Aid Societies were formed to make haversacks and mittens for the soldiers, to send jellies and delicacies to the sick, and to provide lint and blankets for the wounded. Young ladies volunteered as nurses and lived through the horrors of hospitals full of men torn to pieces by shot and shell. Children played soldier, built little forts, and made imitation paper money. Sanitary Fairs were held for the benefit of the soldiers in all the large cities, with restaurants and concerts and theatricals and speeches, and the sale of knickknacks at any prices that visitors would pay.

In the field the Sanitary Commission and Christian Commission followed the armies and helped take care of the sick and wounded. After great battles, thousands of wounded men were sent back to the hospitals, carried in jolting wagons, in springless freight cars, on the open decks of steamboats, feverish, starved, thirsty, delirious, screaming with awful pain. You cannot have war without such suffering. Twice as many men died of disease as of wounds; for though there

were doctors and medical supplies, nobody then knew how to stop such diseases as malaria, typhoid fever, and yellow fever.

Throughout the land, ministers preached from their pulpits urging the people to support the war. War meetings were held and, when those present were aroused, they were asked to come forward and enlist in the army. Letters were mailed in patriotic envelopes bearing pictures of soldiers and cannons, or the American eagle. The whole North was aflame with excitement and hatred of the "rebels."

283. Southern People at Home. — A like passionate spirit filled the southern heart, a like excitement, a like hatred of the "Yankees." Nevertheless the soldiers of the two armies in the field were not so unfriendly; on both sides they learned that the men in the other uniform were not thieves and cut-throats. The pickets often had jolly talks across the lines when "Johnny Reb" would bring out his tobacco and trade with "Yank" for coffee (page 355). Whenever either army was in the enemy's country, horses and cattle were carried away, and some houses were looted. But the men of both sides were kind to the women and children of their enemies.

The war came even closer home to the South than to the North, because nearly all the active men were in the army. It was fearful to be at the front and feel a bullet crashing through the bones of the arm or leg; but it was almost as bad for a girl to wait in a far-off country town for the weekly stage, bringing the news of the last battle, and to run down the column of killed and wounded till her finger rested on the name of a brother or a lover. The southern women, like the northern, did everything they knew how to do for their brave boys at the front; and they saw to it that few of the boys lost the chance to be brave by failing to enlist.

The South suffered for want of the usual food and clothing because the blockade kept out most of the luxuries, and the army needed a large part of the necessities. When people wore out their imported dresses, they had to wear calico or homespun. Toward the end of the war the railroads were so broken up that it was hard to carry food, and both the soldiers

and the people at home suffered for the commonest supplies. Yet to the last the South never lost its pluck, and it was beaten at the end only because it had expended all the available means of the country in money, supplies, and men.

284. Greenbacks, Gold, and Silver (1861-1865). — The Civil War raised many new business questions which deeply interested the country. The first was that of currency (§ 82), the money that passed from hand to hand. When the war broke out, gold and silver very soon disappeared from circulation, for everybody wanted to keep them as long as possible. The banks "suspended specie payments," by refusing to redeem their notes, and the only money in circulation was state bank notes, and postage stamps for small change.

As a quick means of raising money, the United States government issued "legal tender notes" (1862), commonly called "greenbacks." These were paper notes which everybody was obliged to receive in payment of debts. The only thing that gave to the notes a value was the promise of the United States to redeem (§ 185) them sometime. As the prospects of success in the war began to look dark, the promise seemed doubtful, and hence the value of a dollar note became less than that of a gold dollar. Before the war was over, paper money fell so low that a greenback dollar was not worth more than sixty cents in gold. The United States set up a system of national bank notes to take the place of the state bank currency. These notes circulated everywhere in the North alongside the greenbacks.

285. Summary. — This chapter describes the condition of the people, the armies, and the governments on both sides, outside of the military movements, and sketches the personal character of some of the principal leaders of both North and South.

The North had a decided advantage in numbers, in able-bodied white men, in transportation, and in manufactures. The South had the advantage of situation and of habits of outdoor life, and it made some use of the negro population. Both sides first called for volunteers and later compelled men to serve by conscription. The northern Congress interfered

with the army and some unfit civilians were made generals. The successful commanders were nearly all graduates of West Point. There were many strong men in Congress, the Cabinet, and the state governments, but the greatest American citizen of this period was Abraham Lincoln, who showed genius in both administrative and military affairs, and laid down noble principles of popular government. In the South most of the distinguished men served in the army. Jefferson Davis was the leading figure as President and actual commander of the armies.

The burden of the war went back to the homes on both sides and every effort was made to aid in the support and comfort of the troops. The civilians suffered almost as much as the soldiers. Both sides grew accustomed to paper money, which in the North was, at one time, worth only 60 per cent as much as gold.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 274) 1. What was meant by the "South" in 1861? 2. How did the sections compare in population and resources? 3. How did they compare in transportation?



Northern and Southern pickets exchanging supplies

(§ 275) 4. What were the natural advantages of the South for making war? 5. How did the negroes aid the South? 6. How did the sections compare in fighting men?

(§ 276) 7. How were officers and soldiers raised during the war? 8. How did conscription and draft work in the North and the South? 9. Who were the bounty jumpers? 10 (For an essay). The draft riots in the city of New York.

(§ 277) 11. What were the difficulties of the Union government in carrying on war? 12. How were the commanding generals selected?

(§ 278) 13. Mention some of the leaders in Congress. 14. Who were Lincoln's principal advisers in the Cabinet? 15. Mention some of the principal leaders in the country at large.

(§ 279) 16. What made it hard for Lincoln to win public confidence? 17 (For an essay). Life of President Lincoln in the White House. 18. How did Lincoln carry on the war? 19. How was he reëlected President? 20. What made him great?

(§ 280) 21. How was the southern Confederacy governed? 22. How did it raise funds?

(§ 281) 23 (For an essay). Personal life and character of Robert E. Lee. 24. Mention some other Confederate commanders. 25. What made "Stonewall" Jackson great? 26. How did Jefferson Davis carry on the Confederacy?

(§ 282) 27. How did the northern people at home aid in the war? 28 (For an essay). Home life during the war. 29. What was done for the sick and wounded? 30. What was done to arouse public sentiment?

(§ 283) 31. How did the troops behave in the field? 32. What did the southern women do for their cause? 33. What sort of privations did the South suffer? 34 (For an essay). Life in a southern city during the war.

(§ 284) 35. What was the northern currency early in the war? 36. What were legal tender notes and why did they lose value?

CHAPTER XXVI

CONCLUSION OF THE CIVIL WAR (1863-1865)

286. First Steps of Emancipation (1861-1862).—Though the main cause of the war was the difference of opinion between the North and the South with regard to slavery, both sections for a time kept that issue in the background. President Lincoln feared that otherwise the border states would join the Confederacy.

Nevertheless the war brought about many difficult questions regarding slavery. The first was what to do with the fugitive slaves who came into the Union camps. Notwithstanding the Fugitive Slave Law, antislavery officers would not return them to their owners; and General B. F. Butler at Fort Monroe called them "contraband of war." They were not really that, but the name contraband stuck to them. In the second place, Congress took the South on its own ground that the slaves were property, by passing acts under which slaves were "confiscated" if used in aid of the war, or if owned by "rebels" as the Confederates were called. That practically meant that such slaves were set free.

Congress proved to be more radical than Lincoln at the beginning of the war, and in 1862 emancipated all the slaves in the District of Columbia, paying the masters \$300 for each slave. Then Congress, in defiance of the Dred Scott decision (§ 259), abolished slavery in every territory, without compensation to the owners. Later (1864) Congress repealed the Fugitive Slave Law, so that not even border-state masters could recover their runaway slaves.

Everybody knew that in wars directed against slaveholding countries, the general of an invading army might declare the slaves free. Two Union generals, Frémont and Hunter, issued proclamations freeing the slaves within their military

districts, but Lincoln felt it necessary to cancel their orders. He thought it best to persuade the border-state people to set their slaves free and to accept a payment for them from the government.

287. Emancipation by the President (1862-1863). — In the fall of 1862 Lincoln felt that something new was needed, for things were not going well for the North. The western troops were checked on the Mississippi River, and the eastern army was again beaten at Bull Run (§ 271). France and England seemed on the point of recognizing the Confederacy as an independent nation, and that might end the blockade. And it was becoming hard to raise the necessary troops, though there were thousands of negroes within the Federal lines who could be made into soldiers.

Hence Lincoln drew up a Proclamation of Emancipation (September, 1862), announcing that, unless the southern people yielded, he would soon set free all the slaves within the seceding states. Lincoln's own explanation was, "We had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game." The Proclamation of Emancipation was to apply only to those parts of the United States which were behind the Confederate lines, where the government could not reach the slaves. It did not apply to the border states which were loyal to the Federal government. Still slavery soon ceased to be of much consequence in these states, for thousands of slaves ran away and nobody would bring them back.

Between 1863 and 1865 four states prohibited slavery on their own account. Three of them were Missouri, Maryland, and Tennessee, which were occupied in great part by Federal troops, so that the secessionists and slaveholders had little chance to protest. The western counties of Virginia, lying between the Shenandoah Valley and the Ohio River, had long been discontented, and took this opportunity to set up a separate state for themselves. Congress admitted them as the state of West Virginia in 1863—the 35th state with 390,000 people—really as a punishment to the people of the main state of Virginia for joining in secession; and it was

made a condition that the new state constitution should provide for emancipation.

As soon as Lincoln's proclamation was issued, the enlistment of negro troops began, partly in the North but mostly among the refugees in the South. In the course of the war 186,000 black soldiers were added to the army. The war was so close that they probably turned the scale in favor of the North.



Monument to Colonel Robert G. Shaw on Boston Common. In 1863 Col. Shaw led the first negro regiment sent to the field from the free states

A final Proclamation of Emancipation was issued January 1, 1863. It applied to all the eleven seceding states, except Tennessee and small parts of Virginia and Louisiana which were occupied by Union troops. The South jeered at a proclamation which they said could never be carried out, and for some time it was not very popular in the North.

Lincoln came slowly to this policy of emancipation, but he felt that the time had arrived to break up the system of slavery. He later said of himself: "I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel. . . . I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. . . . If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."

288. War on the Sea (1861-1865). — When the war broke out, the Union kept most of the vessels of the navy. The Confederates were obliged to rebuild old vessels and to construct new ones under great hindrances. Nevertheless, they

fitted out several powerful ironclads, of which the *Merrimac*, which they renamed the *Virginia*, was one (§ 271).

The Americans in all their previous wars had freely captured the enemy's merchant ships (§ 102). When a few small vessels were armed by the Confederates in 1861 and began to capture Union merchantmen, the Unionists forgot all past experience and insisted that the Confederate warships and privateers were nothing but pirates. On the other side, the

Confederates complained bitterly of the blockade, which grew more and more close every month. To evade it, blockade runners were built, small swift steamers painted lead color, which plied back and forth from the British West Indies to Charleston and Wilmington and a few other ports; but many of them were captured. In



Statue of Admiral Farragut by Saint-Gaudens, Madison Square, New York

1864 Admiral Farragut closed the port of Mobile to the blockade runners.

The United States government was at last obliged to admit that regular cruisers and privateers were not pirates; but the blockade made it hard for the Confederates to send out commerce destroyers. Hence their agents in England bought old vessels and ordered new ones in British shipyards, and commissioned them as ships of war. The most famous was the *Alabama*, a wooden screw steamer of about 1000 tons. Although the United States minister, Charles Francis Adams, demanded that she be seized, the British government delayed, and the vessel slipped out of port. Guns and a crew were

sent to her from England, and she was the means of capturing 68 American merchant ships. As these prizes could not be sent in to Confederate ports, many of them were burned at sea.

The northern people were for several reasons bitter against England: (1) for showing friendship to the Confederacy; (2) for allowing ships of war to be built in a neutral country; (3) for not seizing

the *Alabama* when she came into British colonial ports. In 1864 the *Alabama* was sunk in a sea fight off the French coast, by the United States ship *Kearsarge*; but several other Confederate ships of war remained at sea and made many captures. All this time the United States was buying all sorts



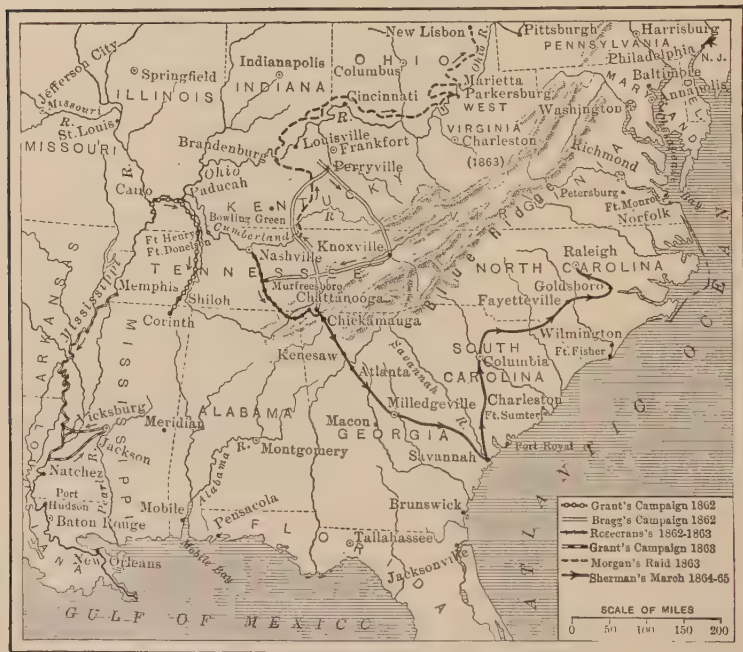
Merchant ship shelled by the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*

of military supplies, except ships, from England and other countries. Though the ruling aristocracy in England favored the Confederacy, the middle class and the working men sided with the North; and neither Great Britain nor any other nation came to the point of recognizing the southern Confederacy as independent.

289. Campaigns of 1863-1864. — Soon after the victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg (§ 272) a great Union army under Rosecrans was badly defeated by the Confederates under Bragg at Chickamauga (September, 1863), just south of the Tennessee River. General Thomas with the left wing of the Union army stood his ground, and earned the name of the "Rock of Chickamauga." The whole army withdrew to Chattanooga, where General Grant was put in command,

with Sherman and Thomas next to him. In three days' hard fighting against the army of Bragg, the Union troops took Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge above Chattanooga. Thereupon the Confederate army retreated, but though beaten it was still in the field.

When fighting was resumed in the spring of 1864, Grant was put in command of all the Union land forces, and he made Sherman commander of the western army. Grant took



Western and southern campaigns in the Civil War

personal command in the East and marched southward in May. In a few hours he met Lee's army in a piece of rough country called the Wilderness, north of Richmond (May 5). In several days' fierce fighting he found himself blocked, and drew back. This was the eighth time the two armies had met, and never yet had the Army of the Potomac been ordered forward after such a check; but Grant simply turned to the left and started south again, fighting battle after battle,

until he stood before Petersburg, a few miles from Richmond (map, page 336). In six weeks Grant lost about 55,000 men, but he was a commander of wonderful courage and endurance, plain, simple, and dogged; and he simply held on.

Meanwhile, Sherman was fighting his way from Chattanooga south through the mountains to Atlanta, opposed by General Joseph Johnston. Sherman had a decidedly larger force, and showed great ability in driving the enemy before him with few pitched battles. He reached and captured Atlanta.

While Grant was besieging Petersburg, Sherman made a "march to the sea." With 60,000 men he started from Atlanta, crossed the state of Georgia, and came out at the port of Savannah. The rest of his army he left under Thomas, but a bold attack by Hood compelled part of it to retreat northward. At Nashville, Hood was at last defeated in a fierce battle (December, 1864), and the fighting in the West was practically ended.

290. End of the War (1865). — In the early period of the war the Confederate cavalry was much the better. Such leaders as "Jeb" Stuart and Forrest raided the Union lines, destroyed wagon trains, and even made some hurried forays into the northern states. As the Union cavalry improved, it caused the same kind of trouble to the other side. General Philip H. Sheridan, who began as an infantry officer, came to have command of a cavalry corps, then of an army of 50,000 men. He was a hard fighter and will always be remembered for his campaigns and harrying of the country in the Shenandoah Valley.

During the winter of 1864-65 the Union troops lay in the trenches around Petersburg, their lines within a few hundred yards of the Confederate works. In the spring, Lee at last abandoned Petersburg and with it Richmond. After six days' pursuit Grant hemmed in Lee's army, and on April 9, 1865, the 27,000 troops that remained with the Confederate colors surrendered at Appomattox.

Sherman at the same time was marching up from Georgia through the Carolinas. After his army took the city of

Columbia it was burned, either by accident or by men acting without orders. Sherman was furious toward the enemies who had fought so long, and he took little pains to protect the countryside as he passed; but there is no evidence that he

intended to destroy the city of Columbia.



Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, 1822-1885

Johnston's army, the last considerable Confederate force still in arms, surrendered to Sherman at Raleigh, North Carolina. Some hot-heads had talked about "dying in the last ditch," but Lee and Johnston gave the example of accepting the defeat and its consequences. President Davis was captured and made a prisoner; but Grant would not allow any of the Confederate military

officers to be arrested or harmed for their service in the Confederacy.

On an evening almost exactly four years from the firing on Fort Sumter, Lincoln was shot by a bad and reckless man, who had the folly to think that it would please the South to remove the President. In fact, he murdered the man who at this critical moment best understood the South, who was most anxious to restore it to the Union, and who could have carried the northern people with him. The whole North was plunged into gloom, for Lincoln's death was like the loss of a member of five million families.

291. Cost of the War. — Nobody can measure the real cost of the Civil War. Who can put a money value on the miseries of the sick, wounded, and dying, the crushing grief of

their families, and the despair of widows and orphans? But we can calculate the number of lives sacrificed and the money expended.

In that part of the South which joined in secession there were about 1,400,000 grown men and about 270,000 boys who came to be old enough to serve before the war was over. Out of these 1,670,000 white men, the astonishing number of 1,100,000 to 1,250,000 enlisted in the Confederate army for longer or shorter terms. It is a reason for pride to the whole southern people that three fourths of their white men went into the army; there is hardly anything like it in history. It was possible only because the slaves stayed at home to do the hard work. If General Lee had had his way, some of the negroes would have been armed and put into the field in the last months of the war.

On the northern side the able-bodied adults, with the boys who came to military age, numbered over 5,500,000, or nearly three and one half times the white men of the South. Out of this number more than 2,000,000 individuals enlisted, including nearly 200,000 negroes; of these many reënlisted, so that about 3,000,000 enlistments are recorded. The number of 5,500,000 includes about 1,000,000 adult foreigners who were in the northern states when the war broke out, and of whom probably a fourth enlisted.

The death loss of the southern army was 94,000 killed in action and died from wounds, and 164,000 died from disease, a total of 258,000. On the Union side the death loss was 360,000. Counting the later deaths of wounded and diseased men, it would not be too high to put the total cost of the war at about 800,000 lives.

The North spent about 4000 million dollars, including the expense of the states and local governments, while the South spent the value of about 1500 million dollars measured in gold. The northern states saw few invasions, and suffered little from destruction of property; but wherever the armies marched in the South, houses and especially stores of cotton were burned; and at the end the South was almost drained of money, goods, and supplies. Besides the 5500 millions paid

out by the two governments there was a loss of the productive labor of those who were in the war, so that the total money cost was not far from 7000 millions of dollars.

The slave owners, both in the seceding and in the loyal border states, as a result of the war lost slave property valued at about 2000 millions. This was not a real money loss to the South for the former slaves were still there; they continued to work on the land, and the South continued to profit by their work, which was all that made them valuable as slaves. When things settled down, the former owners got a smaller share of the annual product and the former slaves got a larger share, but in the end the total to be divided was larger. One of the reasons why the South has become so well off since the war is that free labor makes a country richer than slave labor. If slaves and slave labor could make the South really wealthy, what was it that gave greater wealth to the northern states at that time and also to the South after it lost slavery?

The loss of men and money and labor was the price which the country paid to settle once for all two questions: (1) whether slavery should continue anywhere in the United States; (2) whether the secession of a state from the Union should be accepted as allowable under the Federal system of government. Since that time nobody has wanted to restore slavery; and everybody is now sure that if any group of states should secede at any time hereafter, the rest of the states would unite to deny any right of secession, and would support the Federal government in subduing the would-be seceders.

292. Summary. — This chapter is devoted to the emancipation of the slaves, and the conclusion of the Civil War.

During the war slavery ceased in the United States except in Delaware, Kentucky, and Tennessee. (1) Thousands of slaves escaped from their masters in the border and seceding states. (2) Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories. (3) By Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, slavery was declared abolished in the eleven seceding states, except Tennessee and small parts of Virginia and Louisiana. This action applied to negroes inside

the Confederate lines, so it would have had no effect if the Federal arms had not been victorious. (4) Missouri, Maryland, Tennessee, and West Virginia emancipated their slaves.

Fighting went on at sea throughout the war. The South built a few ships of war and bought or built others in England, especially the *Alabama*, which made numerous captures.

From August, 1863, to April, 1865, fighting continued, both east and west. After a series of hard battles in and near Chattanooga, the way was opened for a campaign southward to Atlanta and thence to Savannah, so that the Confederacy was almost cut in two. In the East, Grant took command of the Federal army, which was hardly a single day out of gunshot range from the enemy from May, 1864, to April, 1865. After desperate fighting in the fields and the trenches, Lee's army was worn down till it had to surrender. Lincoln was assassinated a few days after the end of the war.

More than 3,000,000 men served on one side or the other, of whom about 800,000 lost their lives, and the war cost 7000 millions of dollars. The main effects were to destroy slavery, and to prove that the right of secession could never be admitted by the Union.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 286) 1. How did the war bring out new slavery questions? 2. What were the confiscation acts? 3. What action did Congress take against slavery? 4 (For an essay). Fugitive slaves in Union camps. 5. Why did Lincoln not free the slaves in the field of war?

(§ 287) 6. What reasons were there for freeing the slaves in 1862? 7. What was the Proclamation of Emancipation? 8. What states emancipated the slaves during the war? 9. When and how was West Virginia admitted to the Union? 10. What military aid did the negroes render to the North? 11. What was the final Proclamation of Emancipation? 12. Why did Lincoln emancipate the slaves?

(§ 288) 13. How did the South build a navy? 14. How was the blockade evaded? 15 (For an essay). Life on a blockade runner. 16. What were the Confederate commerce destroyers? 17 (For an essay). Life on the ship *Alabama*. 18. Why did the North think England unfriendly?

(§ 289) 19. Why was Thomas called the "Rock of Chickamauga"? 20. How were the Confederates driven out of Chattanooga? 21. How did Grant and Lee fight the campaign of 1864? 22 (For an essay). Incidents of Sherman's march to the sea. 23. What were the last battles in the West?

(§ 290) 24. How was the Union cavalry developed? 25 (For an essay). Surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox. 26. How did Sherman march through the Carolinas? 27. Why was no Confederate officer punished after the war? 28. How did the war finally come to an end? 29. Why was Lincoln's death a misfortune to the South?

(§ 291) 30. How did the white men of the South take part in the war? 31. How did the men of the North take part? 32. What was the death loss? 33. What was the money cost? 34. How did the war affect slave property? 35. What questions were settled by the war?

CHAPTER XXVII

RECONSTRUCTION (1865-1869)

293. What was Reconstruction? — When the fighting ceased and the southern soldiers went home in the spring of 1865, it seemed to many people in both North and South that the trouble was all over. The effort to break up the Union had failed; the Union had been in existence all the time; all that was necessary was to fill up the Senate and the House by admitting members from the seceding states, which for four years had not been represented there. Then the country was to go on as though nothing had happened.

It soon became clear that the problem was not so simple as all that. Great changes had come about in the South. The negroes were free; the southern people and the southern states had gone through a terrible crisis. The Union was shaken and battered and needed "reconstruction." It was like a great engine that had gone through a fire and could not work again until the injured parts were restored. Yet the Union could not be reconstructed without taking into account the following difficulties:

(1) The southern states were not in the same condition as the northern states, for, during four years, they had ceased to act as members of the Union, and most of them had made new constitutions which recognized the southern Confederacy. They would have to remake those constitutions before they could again fit into their old places.

(2) The white men of the South had nearly all taken some part in the Civil War. Many northern men did not trust them to aid in a genuine reconstruction; and some northerners thought that the leaders ought to be tried and executed for treason.

(3) The emancipated negroes in the South, commonly called "freedmen" at that time, were very ignorant and helpless. Thousands of them had wandered from their home plantations and it was hard to get them back to their regular work. The North thought that they needed aid and protection from the Federal government.

In the North the only authorities having the actual power to reconstruct the Union were the President and Congress. In Congress the Republicans had a large majority as long as the southern members were kept out; hence they could do what they liked against the Democratic minority. The President, however, had the veto power and it required two thirds of both Houses to pass a law over his veto.

Much, therefore, depended on the new President, Andrew Johnson, who as Vice President took Lincoln's place. He was a southerner, from east Tennessee, which remained loyal to the Union. By origin he was a "poor white" (§ 196), and he hated the wealthy slaveholders and believed that secession had been a slaveholders' plot against the interests of the small farmers, who made up the larger part of the population. His plan was to bring the southern states back into the Union by putting the state offices in the hands of the poor whites; and the former planters were to be shut out altogether on the ground that they were "rebels."

294. Reconstruction of the States. — President Johnson argued that the states could not secede (§ 265) and had never really seceded, and therefore must still be in the Union. Following out a plan which Lincoln had favored, he directed that in each of the former Confederate states a new constitution should be adopted and new members of Congress should be chosen. When Congress met in December, 1865, members presented themselves from nearly all these states. To Johnson's mind the Union thus was restored, and could go forward just as it did before the war.

Congress did not like that idea, and decided not to admit these members-elect. The President tried to check the action of Congress; but the Republicans passed fifteen bills over his veto. Among them was a Reconstruction Act (1867)

under which the seceding states were forbidden to come back until they had allowed the negroes to vote in elections and had shut out the old white leaders from politics. Meantime the South was governed by generals of the army, backed by United States troops. Some of the northern leaders, especially Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, wanted to punish the people of the southern states by these hard conditions; others felt that the southerners could not be trusted to do justice to the negro or to perform their duties to the Union.

Slowly new legislatures were chosen, partly by negro votes, and they all contained some negro members. Two sorts of leaders came forward to guide the new governments. If they were northern men who had come down to settle in the South, they were called "carpetbaggers"; if they were native southerners, they were called "scalawags." The reconstruction governments were thus thrown into the hands of ignorant men and tricky politicians. The effect on the negroes and the white people will be considered in a later chapter. One by one the states were re-admitted by act of Congress, until in 1871 Georgia, the last of the eleven former seceding states, was again admitted to the Union in full standing.

295. Reconstruction of the Southern Whites. — The only man brought to trial for treason was Jefferson Davis. After he had spent two years as a prisoner in Fort Monroe, the federal courts dismissed the case on legal points. Their real reason was that it seemed absurd to select one man for punishment out of the millions who had helped to make war on the Union. Davis was therefore set free.

Thousands of southerners received pardons from President Johnson; and then he put forth a general amnesty proclamation, pardoning all who had not been active in the war. In the end the only penalty inflicted by the federal government on the southern leaders was to prohibit them for a time from holding office under the United States or under any state (Fourteenth Amendment).

Nevertheless the people of the South suffered intensely. Many rich men were reduced to poverty. For example, one gentleman of Mississippi, who had formerly owned 200

slaves, became poor and made a point of doing his own washing. A splendid example of patience and loyalty to the United States was set to the South by General Robert E. Lee, who accepted the result and settled down quietly. Most of the other Confederate generals returned to their plantations or to business. The southern people still had pluck and energy; the master minds in the South were still those of the former leaders and planters, and they went to work to make the best of their unhappy condition.

296. Reconstruction of the Negroes. — President Lincoln had a plan of colonizing all the freedmen outside of the country; that would have removed the negro question. But who could carry away 4,000,000 human beings? And what would large areas of the South do without laborers? Yet the negroes were a serious problem. Only a twentieth of them could read and write. Except for a few who had been free before the war, they had no land, no money, no property. They did not know how to manage plantations or to carry on business by themselves. They could work for other people, but otherwise seemed a dead weight on the community.

A large part of the negroes were still on the plantations where they had been slaves, and remained there to work for wages. The South still looked on them, however, as an inferior and dependent race which through lack of experience could not be trusted to look out for itself. Therefore, during 1865 several of the states passed "vagrant laws," which obliged negroes to choose an employer and to keep steadily at work for him.

These vagrant laws seemed to the North a proof that the whites did not mean well by the freedmen, and that the Federal government must protect them. At first the Federal soldiers were expected to see that they were well used. The next step was to set up a Freedmen's Bureau by act of Congress. It picked up wandering negroes, fed the starving, started schools, and settled quarrels with the white people.

297. Reconstruction Amendments (1865-1871). — After a few years most of the troops were withdrawn and the Freed-

men's Bureau was given up. That left the negroes under the laws and constitutions of the reconstructed states; but the Republicans asked what there was to prevent the states from changing those constitutions, and virtually restoring slavery, as soon as they got back into the Union.

Therefore, the changes brought about by the war were secured by three constitutional amendments (*See Appendix*):

(1) Just at the end of the war, Congress under Lincoln's guidance drew up a Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provided that slavery and involuntary servitude should cease everywhere in the United States. The necessary three-fourths majority of all the states was secured, and in 1865 the amendment became a part of the Constitution. That was the end of slavery, for the amendment was a higher law, above the action of any state (§ 127). It was this amendment that abolished slavery in Kentucky and Delaware.

(2) The negroes were now free; but were they citizens? That is, were they members of the states and the Union on the same footing as white people? Even in some of the northern states, they could not be witnesses in court against whites, and their children were not allowed in the public schools. To cover that point Congress submitted the Fourteenth Amendment (1866), which provided that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." The amendment also forbade the payment of any public debts incurred in the South for the support of the war. It was ratified in 1868, but would hardly have gone through, had not some of the southern states been compelled to ratify it before they could get back into the Union. From that time negroes in every state have been entitled to the same rights and the same protection as white people. The amendment also made the Federal government a kind of guardian of their rights.

(3) At the beginning of the Civil War free negroes could not vote in any state of the Union, except in five New England states and in New York. The abolitionists nevertheless argued that negroes had the same natural rights (§ 255) as whites, and should be given the suffrage. Lincoln gradually



inclined to this view. Toward the end of the war he asked "whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks." This idea was taken up by Congress in the reconstruction acts. Then, lest the southern states might take the suffrage away again, a Fifteenth Amendment was submitted and was ratified in 1870, to the effect that no person should be deprived of suffrage on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

298. Impeachment of the President (1868). — All the way through the reconstruction the President and Congress were at odds. Johnson was rough and ill-mannered and sometimes sneered at what he termed "a body called, or which assumes to be, the Congress of the United States." When he could not come to an understanding with the Republicans he made friends with the Democrats. Congress on its side browbeat him, and passed a Tenure of Office Act to prevent him from removing officers (1867). In 1868 the Republicans were so furious that they tried to remove him from office by impeachment, on the charge that contrary to this law he was trying to remove the Secretary of War, Stanton. The real offense was that he would not join in the radical spirit of Congress. It would have been a dangerous thing for the welfare of the country to remove a President simply because Congress did not like him; and it was fortunate that the votes for conviction were one short of the necessary two thirds.

In the presidential convention of 1868, General Grant was nominated by the Republicans. The Democrats began to pull themselves together again, and put up Horatio Seymour of New York, a man of high character. Grant was easily elected, though the Democrats polled nearly 3,000,000 votes. Some of that party wanted to upset reconstruction and the constitutional amendments; but most of them took the ground that they must accept things as they found them, and start anew.

299. Reconstruction in Business and Transportation. — In 1865, when the South was almost ruined, the North was more prosperous than ever before in its history. During the Civil

War, manufacturers were busy not only on their usual orders, but also in furnishing enormous quantities of supplies for the army and the navy. Foreign commerce was lively, notwithstanding the captures of vessels by Confederate cruisers (§ 288). The great source of wealth was, however, the steady growth of farm regions, villages, and cities throughout New England and the middle states and the rapid growth of population in the West. This made business of all kinds lively. Factories, mines, and banks also increased rapidly.

To carry all this new business railroads were spreading like magic. Short lines were built right and left. Long lines were linked together until one could ride in a sleeping car with only one change from New York to St. Louis or Chicago. Great factories for building locomotives sprang up. Iron works were busy rolling railroad iron and making materials for all kinds of manufactures.



The first train over the Central Pacific Railroad, 1869. From an old print

The great railroad event of this period was the beginning of the Pacific Railroad. California stood by the Union during the war, but the Pacific coast was a long way off and needed some connection closer than overland mail coaches and pony expresses (§ 262). In 1862 Congress took up the familiar

idea of a Pacific railroad and made great grants of public land to aid in the building of certain specified lines from Omaha, Lake Superior, and Kansas City to the Pacific coast. To a few roads the government also lent money. With this powerful aid the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1869 completed a road from Omaha to Ogden, near Great Salt Lake, where it met the Central Pacific Railroad which ran on to San Francisco. This was the first transcontinental railroad line (map, page 386).

300. Financial Reconstruction (1868-1875). — Though the people were rich, the United States government was poor, for at the end of the war it owed about 3000 million dollars. On this immense sum it had to pay interest; and it had promised to repay the debt eventually in "coin." To make good this promise some of the heavy war taxes were kept in force. No gold or silver was in circulation, and the greenbacks and national bank notes were the only currency. People who wanted gold had to buy it at a premium, so that sometimes a thousand dollars in greenbacks might not buy more than six hundred dollars in gold coin.

As people came to have more and more confidence that the United States would pay all its debts, the greenbacks went up in value and the gold came down. This seemed a great hardship to men who had borrowed money in greenbacks when they had a low value measured in gold, and were now called on to repay in greenbacks representing more gold; in effect, they had to pay more wheat or corn or manufactured goods than they had received. On the other hand, the holders of government bonds had lent money when greenbacks were low, and were getting their money back when greenbacks were high, so that some of them received nearly twice what they had paid. These people were popularly called "bloated bondholders."

Meanwhile the government debt was being paid off and much money was made by business men. There was a boom in all kinds of business. Thousands of miles of railroad were built out into the West, where there was little or no population, because the owners of the road expected to make money

by bringing people out and settling the country. A Homestead Act of 1862 allowed settlers to take up 160 acres of land free of payment. The thing was overdone, so that in 1873 there was a serious commercial panic. Many banks, business houses, and railroads went bankrupt, and it was several years before business recovered.

301. Summary. — This chapter describes how the United States was reconstructed after the Civil War by acts of Congress and three constitutional amendments.

When the Civil War ended it seemed easy to settle the difficulties by carrying out the principle that the states had not seceded. It was quickly seen, however, that the state governments, the white people, and the negroes in the South were all in a changed condition. President Andrew Johnson undertook to prepare the states to come back directly; but Congress stood in his way, and by its two-thirds majority made such laws as it liked, overriding the President's vetoes.

The decision of Congress was that the states must stay out of the Union until they came back on such terms as Congress should impose. They must admit negroes to their elections and governments. This process of reconstructing the states lasted from 1865 to 1871.

After vainly trying to convict Jefferson Davis of treason, Congress gave up the idea of punishing the white people in the South except by shutting them out temporarily from public offices.

For the negroes, three constitutional amendments were adopted: (1) The Thirteenth Amendment declared them all free. (2) The Fourteenth Amendment declared them citizens under the protection of the federal government. (3) The Fifteenth Amendment assured them of the right to vote.

The Republicans came within one vote of removing President Johnson. The North came out of the war rich and prosperous, and able to pay heavy taxes; but it was disturbed by the use of greenbacks, which passed at a discount, as measured in gold. Meantime settlement was spreading and new railroads were building, especially lines to the Pacific coast under government aid.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 293) 1. What did many people think about the problem of reconstruction? 2. What changes had come about in the South during the war? 3. How were the southern states affected? 4. How were the white southerners affected? 5. How were the freedmen affected? 6. Who had power to reorganize the Union? 7. What was President Johnson's point of view?

(§ 294) 8. How did Johnson try to reconstruct? 9. What was the plan adopted by Congress? 10. How were new governments formed in the South?

(§ 295) 11 (For an essay). Jefferson Davis in prison. 12. How were southern leaders treated? 13. How did they receive reconstruction?

(§ 296) 14. What was the condition of the negroes? 15. What laws were passed regarding them? 16 (For an essay). Life among the freedmen just after the war. 17. What did the Federal government do for them?

(§ 297) 18. Why were constitutional amendments needed? 19. What was the Thirteenth Amendment? 20. What was the Fourteenth Amendment? 21. What was the Fifteenth Amendment?

(§ 298) 22. Why was an effort made to impeach the President? 23. How did it result? 24. What was the result of the election of 1868?

(§ 299) 25. What was the state of business during the war? 26. How did the railroads prosper? 27. How were the Pacific railroads built? 28 (For an essay). An early rail trip across the continent.

(§ 300) 29. What was the currency during the war? 30. How did the greenbacks affect business? 31. How was the West settled after the war?

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WEST AND THE PACIFIC SLOPE (1870-1885)

302. The West in 1870. — Until the Civil War, the West stopped near the Mississippi River; but in a few years another larger West stretched beyond, with a scattered population pushed out in advance of the railroads. In 1870 about 7,000,000 people, in addition to 250,000 Indians, were living in the section between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast, including the former slave states of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. Except for the mining camps in Nevada, Colorado, Idaho, and California, the far West was almost entirely a farming and cattle-raising region.

The western plains and valleys of the Rocky Mountains long abounded in buffaloes, excellent for food and covered with a valuable pelt. The fur traders killed out part of them (§ 157), and the farmers helped the Indians to finish the destruction; so that after 1875 not a tenth of the immense herds was left.

No effort was ever made to raise buffaloes on a large scale, but the cattle brought over by the old Spaniards multiplied until there were millions on the great plains of Texas and farther north. The different owners of cattle ranches had each a mark that was branded on the calves, and each tried to keep his herds together. Then the cattle were driven north to the railroads, by which they were shipped alive to Chicago and other places, to be killed and packed. Some live cattle were carried as far as the eastern coast cities, and shipped in steamers across the sea, especially to England. It was a good business, and cattlemen who had little at the start often became rich.

303. The Pacific Slope. — Still farther to the westward was another cattle-raising region in California; but so many



Memorial Arch, Leland Stanford University, California. The architect designed the buildings after the style of the old Spanish missions

settlers poured in that much of the grazing land was turned into plowed fields, and California raised an immense wheat crop for export. Spanish land grants were bought up by Americans and became vast private estates, some of them including 20,000 or 30,000 acres. The Californians explored their own state and found several superb mountain valleys, of which the Yosemite with its waterfalls 2,500 feet high is the most magnificent. They also discovered several groves of big trees, three or four thousand years old.

Farther up the coast the principal product at this time was the magnificent timber of Oregon and Washington, including many trees ten feet in diameter at fifteen feet above the ground. Oregon was developing a farming region in the broad valleys of the Willamette and the Columbia (§ 262), and small settlements were already made at Spokane Falls and Walla Walla, and at Seattle and Tacoma on Puget Sound. After a long dispute with Great Britain the beautiful group of San Juan Islands in the waters separating Vancouver Island from the mainland was acknowledged to belong to the United States (1872).

Far to the north another stretch of Pacific coast was added in 1867 by annexing Alaska, then called Russian America

(§ 233). The Russians made up their minds that it was not worth while to keep the region, and Secretary Seward quickly accepted their offer to sell it for \$7,200,000. The new possession included islands stretching almost to the coast of Asia, the valley of the great Yukon River, and thousands of islands off the coast, as far south as $54^{\circ} 40'$ (map, page 8). Nobody then realized how rich Alaska was in various sorts of wealth: gold, coal, and copper; fur-bearing seals; and salmon and other fish.

304. Interior Territories and States (1861-1876). — After the Civil War, settlers poured into the great interior country beyond the Missouri River, and there was a brief rush eastward from California across the Sierra Nevada. These settlements made it necessary to create seven new territories, as follows: Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota (1861), Arizona and Idaho (1863), Montana (1864), Wyoming (1868).

Nevada was admitted to the Union as the 36th state in a great hurry in order to get its electoral vote for 1864 (map, page 432). It then contained only 40,000 people, chiefly engaged in mining. Nebraska included valuable prairie lands and was on the line of the new Pacific railroad. It was duly admitted in 1867 as the 37th state with 100,000 people, practically all of them farmers.

One of the scenic wonders of the great interior was made known in 1869, when a bold set of government explorers went down the Colorado River in a boat, through the Grand Canyon. The next year a private exploring party pushed its way into the extreme headwaters of the Yellowstone River, about which trappers told wonderful tales; and there they found great waterfalls and hot springs and rock terraces and fountain-like geysers, which since then have been the admiration of thousands of visitors.

Colorado seemed very far away. Most of its settlers reached it by a long journey in "prairie schooners"; that is, big covered wagons, very much like the old Conestoga wagons (§ 176). Some of them were marked "Pikes Peak or Bust." The state was admitted to the Union (the 38th state) in 1876. The emigrants then hardly realized the resources of the state



Old Faithful Geyser, in Yellowstone National Park, regularly spouts
up a column of hot water every sixty-five minutes, to a
height of one hundred twenty-five feet

in cattle, grain, and fruit, or the magnificence of the natural scenery. By 1880 the state had a population of 194,000.

Midway in the interior were the flourishing settlements of the Mormons. By 1870 there were 87,000 people in their territory of Utah (§ 262), including some "Gentiles," as the non-Mormons were called. The new Pacific railroad in 1869 brought in more outsiders and travelers; and the attention of the country was thus called to the fact that the Mormon Church allowed plural marriages. Brigham Young, the Prophet of the church, had about twenty wives. Congress made various efforts to stop this practice of polygamy, and some of the leaders were sent to prison for it. The controversy for many years prevented Utah from being admitted as a state.

305. Far Western Indians. — As the western settlers arrived, they found themselves in close contact with strong and warlike tribes of Indians, especially the Sioux, the Modocs, and the Apaches. In 1862 and in 1866 there was war with the fierce Sioux; and after the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, these Indians fought again in 1876, under the leadership of Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and other chiefs, trying to keep the miners out of their country. During the war the Sioux surrounded and massacred to the last man two hundred and sixty cavalrymen under the command of General Custer. In 1872 about eighty Modoc warriors under the command of Chief Jack, took refuge in the lava beds of northern California and for months kept up a running fight with the soldiers. The Apaches, a brave and ferocious tribe of horse-riding Indians, infested the routes from Texas through New Mexico and Arizona, and were not afraid to attack detachments of the regular army.

President Grant began what was called the "peace policy" of settling all the Indians on reservations (map, page 432), and planting schools and missions among them. The spread of railroads and settlements aided in that work, and the Indian wars practically came to an end in 1886. Since then the government has kept up schools on the reservations, and has sent chosen Indian boys and girls to some eastern schools.

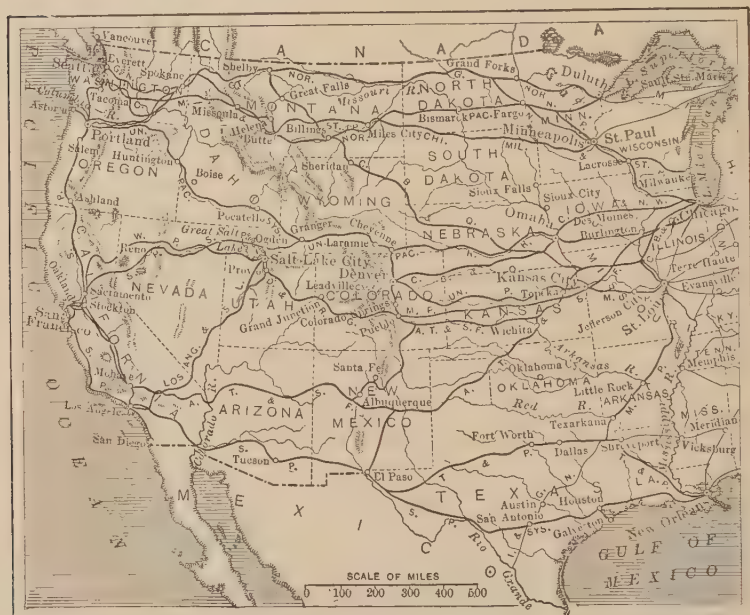
The government has used all its influence to induce the Indians to break up their tribes and take up separate farms "in severalty," as it is called, one for each family, and thus to live like white men.

306. Public Lands. — As fast as the Indians were pacified and made treaties giving up their lands, white settlers came in. In addition to the Preëmption Act of 1841 (§ 218) Congress passed a Homestead Act in 1862 (§ 300), by which any head of a family, even though a recent immigrant, could take up 160 acres of land, live on it five years, and then get the title to it by paying fees of about \$25. In ten years 28 million acres were thus occupied. The settler could also take up another 160 acres by preëmption, paying \$200 for it; and (after 1873) he could take up 160 acres more, keep trees growing on forty of the acres for eight years, and then get a title free.

Much of the good land lay far from routes of travel, and therefore the government from time to time added to the prodigious land grants made in 1862 (§ 299) for constructing a group of railroads extending from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. Such roads received the alternate sections or checkers of land, each a mile square, within a belt forty miles broad along the length of the road. Some roads had an eighty-mile belt. The other squares were reserved for private settlement under the Homestead Act, or could be bought by preëmption at double price (\$2.50) an acre.

Unfortunately Congress assumed that most of the government land was "arable," that is, good for farming; and it did not reserve lands which had a special value for their minerals or water privileges, as might easily have been done. After many years Congress did make an extra charge for timber and stone lands, but little pains was taken to collect the extra price. It was years before Congress began to charge a higher price for coal lands, which might be worth a hundred or even a thousand dollars an acre. Nor was any effort made to keep control of river waters which were of special value to cattle owners, or which could be carried aside by canals and used to irrigate land that would otherwise be worthless. Any

man owning a claim fronting on the river could use the water, or sell it to his neighbors, as he liked.



Transcontinental railroad lines

307. Western Transportation. — In 1869 there was only one line of railroad from the East to the Pacific coast. Fifteen years later there were five, besides many cross lines and connecting lines. The most important through routes were: (1) the Northern Pacific from Lake Superior to Tacoma and Seattle on Puget Sound; (2) the Union Pacific and Oregon Short Line from Omaha to Portland on the Columbia; (3) the Union Pacific and Central Pacific route from Omaha via Salt Lake City to San Francisco; (4) the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe from Kansas City to Los Angeles; (5) the Southern Pacific from New Orleans to Los Angeles.

Among the men who built and managed these lines were Stanford and Huntington of the California roads, Villard of the Northern Pacific, and Palmer of the Atchison.

All the roads mentioned had land grants (§ 306), and Congress voted land also to the Texas and Pacific west from Louisiana, to the California and Oregon, and to some other shorter lines. A few received from the government an advance of money which finally amounted to over 60 million dollars, and had to be repaid.

308. Mining in the West. — Just before the Civil War some gold placers (§ 222) were found on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains near Denver, and the gold was traced back to quartz "lodes" or ledges of rock. About 1859 silver was found east of the Sierra Nevada; and at Virginia City was opened the Consolidated Virginia silver mine, one of the most valuable that the world has ever seen. First and last, silver to the amount of 300 million dollars was taken out of it.

Whenever a new "strike" was made, hundreds of miners rushed to it, but after the surface was skimmed little more could be done without expensive machinery and costly workings. In 1876 a great strike of silver was made at Leadville, which is situated very nearly at the source of the Arkansas River. Subsequently copper was found at Clifton and other places in Arizona, and at Butte and the surrounding country in Montana.

For a long time nobody paid much attention to the western coal, but deposits were at last found in Colorado, Wyoming, Washington, Utah, Montana, and New Mexico. This made it possible to work profitably gold, silver, and copper ores which required intense heat. These processes led to the building of enormous smelters near Denver, Butte, and elsewhere.

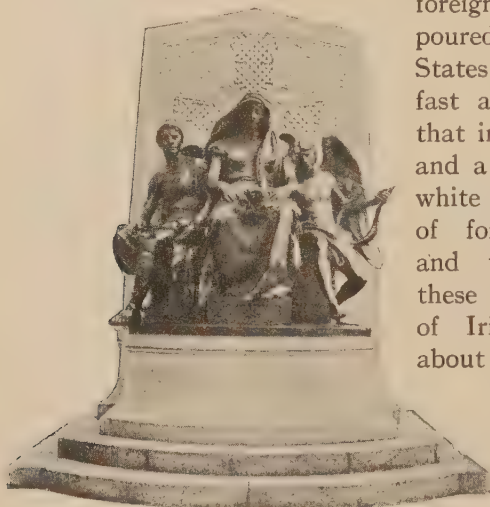
Many of the mining towns decayed, but scores of them remained and made a market for neighboring farmers; that encouraged "ranches," as farms are often called in the far West. The business of the mines attracted railroads and banks and corporations of all kinds. Some of the pioneers saw rich cities grow up in what were once their farms, with great buildings and thousands of busy men and women. Eastern investors who realized the richness of the West sent

money there and lent it to enable the West to build more railroads and cities and factories, and to open more mines and ranches.

309. Foreign Immigration. — Among the farmers, ranchmen, and miners in the far West in 1870 were about a million

foreign immigrants. People poured into the United States from Europe so fast after the Civil War that in the year 1870 five and a half millions of the white population consisted of foreign-born persons and their children. Of these nearly a third were of Irish birth or race; about another third were

German-speaking; 800,000, or about a seventh of the whole, were English, Scotch, and Welsh; half a million came from



Memorial to John Boyle O'Reilly, the noted poet and journalist, who came as an immigrant to Boston in 1869

Canada; and a quarter of a million were Scandinavians. In California, Oregon, and Nevada lived about 55,000 Chinese, a few of whom were brought East and became laundrymen, cooks, and factory hands.

After 1870 most of the foreign immigrants crossed on steamers of regular lines such as the Cunard, Guion, Inman, and White Star lines from Liverpool, the Anchor line from Glasgow, the French line from Havre, the Hamburg American and North German Lloyd lines from Germany. These ships, though still small and uncomfortable even for cabin passengers, between 1860 and 1880 carried most of the four million immigrant passengers.

Nearly half of the immigrants settled along or near the seacoast where they landed, and they formed Irish and German

sections in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. There were similar colonies of foreigners in Milwaukee, Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other large cities; for example, a Bohemian quarter in Cleveland, and a Scandinavian element in Minneapolis. About a third of the immigrants were distributed in the old northwestern states, and in Missouri and Texas.

Only about a twenty-fifth of the immigrants were found in the former seceding states. There the rough labor, such as railroad building and tilling the large plantations, was almost all done by negroes; and there was not much chance for a foreign man or woman looking for work. The cities were fewer than in the North, and there was little government land to be had. Hence, outside of the large cities there were few foreign immigrants in the South.

310. Home Emigration. — Just as in colonial times, the

settlers at the frontiers were in large part immigrants from communities farther east. Even in the East a fifth of those born in any particular state sooner or later moved to another state. In Nebraska, in 1880, four fifths of all the people living there were not born in that state. Some far western settlers moved a score of times; and in cities like Omaha and Denver



The Statue of Liberty greets immigrants entering New York Harbor. This giant bronze figure was presented to America by France in 1886

might be found residents coming from thirty different states.

These different kinds of people all had something to bring with them: New Englanders carried along their school system; southerners brought their method of county government; New Yorkers were used to business on a large scale; French and Swiss immigrants were skilled in vine growing; Irishmen knew how to raise cattle; Germans were fond of music; the Swiss were builders of good roads. Most of the immigrants found work or made work, and the great West could not have been built up so quickly without the aid of the foreign-born laborers and their children.



Immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and Scandinavia in home costumes

Among these immigrants the Irish, English, Scotch, Welsh, and part of the Canadian immigrants spoke English before they arrived; and most of the other races learned it after a few years. The children usually learned both the home speech and English. Among the grandchildren English would probably be the only language spoken in the family.

311. Checks on Immigration. — So welcome were the immigrants that for half a century all were received, of whatever color, race, language, or condition: the strong and the weak, the well and the sick, good people and criminals, members of many races and of nearly all churches. They included

Catholics, whether Irish, German, French, Austrian, or Hungarian, and members of almost every Protestant denomination in the world. Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Jews and Protestants, Hindu Brahmanists, Chinese followers of Confucius, and Japanese Buddhists, — all were free to build churches and temples, and to practice their own form of religion.

Since carrying passengers from foreign countries is considered to be a part of commerce with foreign nations, only the federal government could prevent immigrants from coming in, or could keep out any classes or races. The welcome to immigrants was so broad that for many years the only limitation laid down by Congress was that the officers of all arriving ships must make a written report of the number of immigrant passengers on board. Laws were then passed to secure to these immigrants proper quarters, food, health, and decency while on the voyage.

In 1875 Congress began to shut out convicts and certain other classes of immigrants; and the list was enlarged till it now includes persons who have been convicted of crime, lunatics, people who cannot support themselves, contract laborers who come on a promise by some one in America to give them employment, polygamists, people with contagious diseases, openly immoral persons, and anarchists.

312. Chinese Immigration. — Although the Chinese were much in demand as laborers, it was objected that they lived by themselves; few of them learned English; they did not bring their families; all intended to go back to China in course of time; and they were accused of working for lower wages than white men. Under the laws of the United States no person born in China could become a citizen of the United States, but a child born over here of Chinese parents was a citizen under the Fourteenth Amendment (§ 297).

In the three Pacific states and Nevada it was thought undesirable to admit an indefinite number of such foreigners, who could not be expected to learn our language, laws, or government. The Chinese government cared little about their laborers in America, and after long discussions it was agreed

(1881) that Congress might forbid the coming of all except the four special classes of travelers, merchants, students, and diplomats. Some Chinese laborers managed to slip in, in spite of the law, but the number in the country in 1910 was reduced to about 72,000.

313. Summary. — This chapter tells of the West and far West, during and after the Civil War, and of the means of transportation and of the results of immigration.

The region west of the Mississippi was rich in land suitable for farms and for cattle; and the mountains abounded in minerals. California came to be a wheat-growing state, and along the Pacific coast valuable timber was cut. By the annexation of Alaska the United States secured a region which proved later to have great resources. The interior country developed very rapidly into territories and then into states: Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado were admitted to the Union, while Utah was delayed.

The last of the Indian wars came between 1870 and 1886; and though several commands of United States troops were beaten, in the end all the Indians had to yield and go upon reservations, where they could have schools and learn to farm.

The ending of Indian wars opened the way for settlers who were attracted by the Land Acts of 1862 and 1873. The policy of the government was to give the land away, so far as could be, to actual settlers. Many of the far western communities were mining camps, which grew up around discoveries of gold, silver, copper, and coal.

The rapid settlement of the West was aided by immigration from foreign countries. Another western element was the native-born people who moved out of the older states. By immigration laws, Congress began to shut out convicts, contract laborers, and others, and also Chinese laborers.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 302) 1. How did the West develop? 2 (For an essay). Buffalo hunting. 3. How was the cattle industry carried on?

(§ 303) 4. How did California develop? 5. How did Oregon and Washington develop? 6. How was Alaska annexed?

(§ 304) 7. What new territories were created after 1860? 8. How and when was Nevada admitted to the Union? 9. Colorado? 10 (For an essay). Exploration of the Colorado River *or* of the Yellowstone region. 11. How did the territory of Utah develop?

(§ 305) 12. What caused the Indian wars? 13 (For an essay). Custer's last fight; *or* the Modoc War. 14. What was done to civilize the Indians?

(§ 306) 15. How could public lands be taken up? 16. What were the first railroad land grants? 17. What were the defects in the land policy?

(§ 307) 18. What were the principal Pacific railroads? 19. What aid did the government give the railroads?

(§ 308) 20. What new gold and silver mines were opened? 21 (For an essay). Visit to a gold mine *or* a silver mine *or* a copper mine. 22. How were mines an advantage to the country?

(§ 309) 23. From what foreign countries did immigrants come? 24. How were the immigrants transported? 25 (For an essay). An immigrant's voyage across the Atlantic. 26. How were immigrants distributed throughout the country? 27. Why did few immigrants settle in the South?

(§ 310) 28. How was the West settled? 29. What ideas did immigrants bring into the West? 30 (For an essay). An immigrant family settling in the West. 31. What languages did the immigrants speak?

(§ 311) 32. What were the religions of the immigrants? 33. What were the early restrictions on the immigrants? 34. What were the later restrictions? 35 (For an essay). Some queer immigrants.

(§ 312) 36. What were the objections to Chinese immigration? 37. What restrictions were placed on the Chinese?

CHAPTER XXIX

POLITICS AND PARTIES (1869-1885)

314. President Grant (1869-1877).— When Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois became President in 1869, he was popular in the North because of his success as a general, and because of his simple, unassuming life; while his generous treatment of the officers and men of Lee's army at their surrender (§ 290) had gained him some friends in the South. He had never been in politics and felt that he was elected by the people and was not obliged to take orders from the leaders of the Republican party.

Grant was a military man who looked upon himself much as Andrew Jackson had done (§ 208), as a kind of commander in chief of the civil government. Hence he expected the members of his Cabinet to accept his directions, and he stood by certain personal friends even after they were generally supposed to be dishonest.

The civil service of the government was in bad shape; few men could get into the minor positions except by the favor, or as it is usually called "influence," of some Senator or member of the House. President Grant induced Congress to pass an act by which at least some of the clerks in Washington could be selected without political influence. The Congressmen much disliked this interference with their power to recommend persons for office, and they soon cut off the necessary funds, so that the whole effort was a failure. Later on, Grant quarreled with Senator Sumner and other powerful Republicans, and they interfered with some of his favorite plans.

He used his veto power right and left, vetoing about as many bills as all previous Presidents together. He was an honest, patriotic President, but unfortunately his adminis-

tration came in a time of great wastefulness and dishonesty in both state and national governments.

315. Dark Side of Government (1869-1877). — War time with its big government contracts and rapid ways of making and losing money had a bad effect on the methods of public and private business. Informers lay in wait in the federal customhouses to pounce on some failure to carry out the law. A Whisky Ring in 1875 defrauded the government out of large sums. Later, Secretary Belknap, one of the Cabinet, was caught selling privileges granted by his department, and had to resign in disgrace.

It was even worse in some of the cities — especially in New York, where in 1869 a politician named Tweed got control of the county government which was connected with that of the city. With the aid of city officials, and by the use of fraud and bogus contracts, he and his friends succeeded in stealing nearly a hundred million dollars in three years.

Some of the newspapers never ceased to protest. Tweed did not mind that, because so many of his followers could not read. Then an artist named Thomas Nast began, by the art of political cartoons, to attack Tweed and his cro-



"'Twas him." A political cartoon by Thomas Nast, showing Tweed (the largest figure) and other members of the Tweed Ring trying to clear themselves of blame

nies in *Harper's Weekly*. A Democratic leader, Samuel J. Tilden, exposed this ring of robbers, and Tweed was sent to prison.

316. Breakdown of Reconstruction (1869-1874). — President Grant had large powers over the reconstructed states, which were passing through the bitter experience of the carpetbag governments (§§ 294, 328). Several of them suffered from plunderers as bold and corrupt as the Tweed Ring.

Taxes were increased, and money was borrowed which was then wasted or stolen. Within a few months after Virginia was restored to the Union, the "Conservatives" — that is, the white voters acting in the Democratic party — recovered the control of the state government; and in most of the other southern states the same thing soon happened.

To break the hold of the negro Republican vote, several secret societies were formed by the southern whites, of which the most famous was the Ku-Klux Klan. At first it consisted of young men who thought it a kind of joke to ride about the country rigged out as headless ghosts, and thus to frighten the negroes. This practice quickly grew into a system by which many negroes and some whites were whipped, driven out of the country, or shot. As soon as the negroes took the hint and stopped voting, most of the so-called "Lower South" — the belt of states from South Carolina to Texas — elected Democratic legislators and Congressmen.

Congress tried to stop this movement and to put down these societies by passing severe measures commonly called "Force Bills," intended to protect the negro voters by the use of federal troops. On the other hand, Congress took off the "disabilities" which had prevented the old leaders from holding office (§ 294). The result was that in the election of 1874, often called the "tidal wave," several former Confederate generals were chosen to Congress. Nine years after the Civil War, therefore, the southern states had managed to set aside the greater part of the reconstruction measures.

317. Party Politics (1869-1876). — In the presidential election of 1872 Grant was opposed by Sumner, Schurz, and other Liberal Republicans, who joined with the Democrats to support Horace Greeley (§ 267). Grant was easily reelected though the Democrats carried six southern states.

After that year the southern Democrats gradually united in what was called the "solid South," which at every election supported the Democratic candidate, whoever he might be. The great cities became very important in elections, for the party that could carry New York, or Chicago, or San Francisco expected also to carry the state in which the city was situated.

During this whole period the Republican party appealed for votes on the ground that it had successfully carried on the Civil War and reconstruction. One of the campaign cries of the Republicans was, "We vote as we shot." The other side accused them of "waving the bloody shirt"; that is, of always arousing northern feeling against the South.

The Thirteenth (emancipation) Amendment was little questioned, for nobody any longer wanted slavery; but the Democrats disliked the Fourteenth (citizenship) Amendment and the Fifteenth (negro suffrage) Amendment (§ 297). Since most of the New England and the northwestern states were safely Republican in politics, the balance of power came to lie in three "doubtful states," New York, Ohio, and Indiana. Hence, for many years the candidates on both sides were usually chosen from one or another of those states.

Besides the two main parties, at every presidential election would appear one or more "third parties." The western farmers in 1867 formed a national order which they called the "Patrons of Husbandry"; each local society connected with it was called a "Grange." The Grangers nominated no tickets, but other farmers' organizations did so. In some states they succeeded in getting control of the legislature, which began to regulate the railroads. In 1872 for the first time the National Prohibition party put up a candidate, and the Labor Reform party polled 29,000 votes. In 1876 the Greenback party, which wanted to pay the rest of the public debt in paper notes, polled 82,000 votes.

318. Cuba and the West Indies (1868-1870). — It will be remembered that President Pierce in the fifties wanted to annex Cuba, which was a colony of Spain (§ 253). It was not done, and the United States kept on good terms with Spain and had a profitable trade with the island. In 1868, part of the people of Cuba revolted and formed what they called a republican government, made up partly of whites and partly of negroes. For ten years a civil war raged in the island with great destruction of life and property.

The United States government took no part, either for or against the insurgents, and when difficulties arose President

Grant prevented war by the United States to aid the insurgents. The Cubans finally gave up the struggle in 1878, on condition that they should have a reformed government, and that the slaves should be emancipated.

A few years earlier Brazil had also emancipated her slaves, so that slavery now ceased in every part of America.

Though President Grant did not want Cuba, he was anxious to annex the republic of Santo Domingo, and he made a treaty to that effect with the negro government of the country (1869). To Grant's great chagrin, the people of the United States were not interested and the Senate refused to ratify it; and from that time to the Spanish War of 1898 no territory was annexed by the United States in the West Indies.

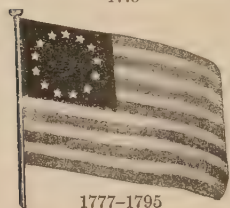
319. The Disputed Election of 1876. — The Democrats looked forward with hope to the election of 1876, and nominated a strong candidate in Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a noted reformer (§ 315). The friends of President Grant tried to renominate him for a third term, but the Republican convention passed him by, and also declined to nominate James G. Blaine, who had been Speaker of the House. Governor Hayes of Ohio was selected as a compromise candidate.

The main discussion in the campaign was whether free government would perish and all the results of the Civil War be lost in case a Democrat were elected President. 185 electoral votes were needed to elect;

and when the votes came to be counted, Tilden proved to have 184 sure votes. He had carried the solid South (except three states) and Connecticut, Indiana, New Jersey, and New



1775



1777-1795



1795-1818



1877

Growth of the flag. Notice that after 1795 there were fifteen stripes and stars; then, since 1818, thirteen stripes, and a star for each state

York. Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were claimed by the Republicans, because they were sure that great numbers of negro voters had been shut out; and by the Democrats because they believed that the Republicans had falsely counted the votes that were cast. There was good ground for both of these charges. The result was that the two parties in those states filed conflicting returns with the government at Washington.

Since the laws of the United States did not clearly state who should decide between two sets of electoral returns, a special Electoral Commission was created by an act of Congress (1877), with power to break the deadlock. It consisted of eight Republican members and seven Democrats; and by a vote of 8 to 7 it decided every question in favor of the Republicans. Hayes was therefore declared elected by 185 to 184, a majority of one electoral vote.

President Hayes was a high-minded and straightforward man, but half the voters in the United States thought that he had not been fairly elected, and he was not able to carry out any strong policy. The Democrats had a majority in the House during the whole four years of his administration, and in the Senate for two years. Hayes formed a good Cabinet in which Carl Schurz (§ 252) was a member. The principal thing that Hayes did was to call the troops back out of the South, so that the federal government could no longer undertake to protect the negro by armed force.

320. Greenbacks (1865-1879). — The old issues of the Civil War were wearing out; the things that really interested the voters were such matters as the tariff, the regulation of railroads, and particularly the currency, that is, the money which circulated among the people. For fourteen years after the Civil War people continued to use and handle paper money; even the small change as low as three cents, for a long time, was made up of paper "fractional currency," often called "shinplasters." It was, however, very inconvenient to do business with foreign countries, because they would not take our paper money and insisted on gold and silver; and these metals stood at a premium. As late as 1876 it took

about eleven dollars in greenbacks to buy a ten-dollar gold piece.

The western and southern farmers thought that greenbacks were good enough for anybody. There was a widespread belief in "inflation"; that is, in increasing the amount of the currency by issuing paper money. People forgot the experience of the Civil War, which was that the more paper money is put out, the less a paper dollar will buy. A dollar was understood to mean a certain weight of gold or silver in a coin; and the paper notes were promises to pay specie dollars.

Congress in 1875 finally resolved to make that understanding good by "resuming specie payment"; that is, by paying gold or silver dollars to any one who cared to present a paper dollar at the treasury. Of course, if there was only a little gold on hand, there would be a rush to get it. Therefore, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, got together the great sum of \$140,000,000 in gold; and since 1879 anybody may at any time present greenbacks to the government and get gold for them at their face value.

321. Gold and Silver Money. — Until nearly 1879 ordinary people bothered little about gold and silver coin, because there was none in circulation; that is, passing from hand to hand. In 1878 a long and bitter conflict arose over "the free coinage of silver." The cause of the trouble is hard to make clear in a few words, but was about as follows:

Up to the Civil War the country had been used to what is called "bimetallism"; that is, both gold and silver were circulated and were used as a standard for paper notes. When people agreed to pay a "dollar" they meant either a coin that contained 371.25 grains of silver, or one that contained 23.2 grains of gold. The silver dollar thus had about sixteen times the weight of the gold dollar. Congress established this particular ratio because the market value of gold was about sixteen times that of silver; this was due in part to the fact that it usually cost the miners sixteen times as much to mine and sell a pound of gold as a pound of silver. A pound of gold was, therefore, worth sixteen times as many dollars as a pound of silver. This is the so-called "16-to-1" ratio.

For many years anybody who had gold bullion or silver bullion could take it to the mint and the government would coin it for him into dollars. For instance (after 1834), if he had 2320 grains of gold he would get \$100 in gold coin; if he offered 37,125 grains of silver he would get \$100 in silver. This was called "free coinage." Silversmiths, however, would pay more than \$100 for 37,125 grains of silver bullion; therefore, very little silver was brought to the mint, and in 1873 Congress stopped making silver dollars; that is, it would not take any more silver bullion and return dollars.

Just then, rich silver mines were discovered in Montana, Idaho, Arizona, Colorado; and elsewhere (§ 308). In 1878 the owners of those mines demanded that Congress should give them back their former right of free coinage; that is, the right to turn their bullion into the mint and receive its weight in silver dollars. Silver, however, was now so

plentiful that any one who had gold to the weight of one hundred dollars could buy with it a weight of silver which if coined would make about one hundred and ten dollars; that is, instead of 16 to 1, the market ratio between gold and silver had fallen to 18 to 1. Some years later it fell to about 32 to 1.

It is not essential to remember exactly what is meant by "ratios" and "bimetallism" and "16 to 1." The main point is that the silver miners could get much more in gold or goods for their silver if the government would take it and give them the same weight of silver dollars for it. They



Storing sacks of money in a United States mint

thought they had as good a right to that privilege as the gold miners had to get gold dollars. The "goldbugs," as the friends of gold coinage were called, pointed out that in most European countries gold was the only standard. They insisted that all the holders of government bonds and paper money ought to be paid in gold and not in the cheaper metal, silver. They declared that bimetallism was absurd because the cost of getting the two metals was so changed that the ratio between them altered almost from month to month.

322. The Silver Question in Politics (1878-1900). — It happened that the goldbugs were strong in the eastern states and the silverites out west, where the silver was mined. The western and southern farmers, and some eastern farmers also, thought that the rich people of the East were making more profit than they were entitled to and that free silver on a 16-to-1 basis would result in transferring part of that profit to them. The free-silver men were only partly successful. They secured from Congress the Bland Act (1878), named for a Missouri member of Congress who pushed it. The silver owners did not get free coinage, but the government undertook to buy a large amount of silver every year and to coin it into silver dollars. This process did not raise the market price of silver, which kept falling year after year. It took about an ounce of silver to make a silver dollar; but anybody who had sixty cents in gold could go out and buy an ounce of silver.

This did not please the silver miners or the people in the states that produced silver, and in 1890 they were strong enough in Congress to pass the Sherman Silver Act, by which the treasury was to buy still more silver. In 1895 the act was repealed. In the election of 1896 the friends of free silver were defeated; and in 1900, after twenty-two years' struggle, Congress made gold the standard metal so **that** holders of all the bonds and notes of the government now have a right to demand gold in payment.

323. President Arthur and the Civil Service (1880-1888). — In 1880 the Democrats nominated for President, General Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, one of the bravest

officers of the Civil War. The Republicans again refused to nominate Grant for a third term; Mr. Blaine was also passed by (§ 319), and the convention settled on General James A. Garfield of Ohio. The Greenbackers again put up a candidate and got 300,000 votes. New York was carried for the Republicans by a narrow majority and that gave Garfield enough electoral votes to elect him.

He had been in office but four months when he was shot by a disappointed office seeker, and Chester A. Arthur of New York, the Vice President, came into office. The attention of the country was called to the bad features of the spoils system (§ 210). Everybody knew that the government employees were holding their offices by doing party work and subscribing to the party funds. A civil service reform act was therefore favored by men of both parties, and the Pendleton Act for that end was readily signed by President Arthur (1883).

This act provided that: (1) The President might set off part of the employees into "the classified service"; and nobody could enter that service except by standing high in a competitive examination. (2) No government employee could be removed for refusing to do party work. (3) A Civil Service Commission was to carry out this plan. President Arthur applied the scheme to a few thousand employees, and every President since has increased the list. At present it includes nearly all the men and women who draw a regular salary from the United States government.

Several states and many cities have adopted the system. It breaks up the practice of turning out faithful employees simply in order to fill the places with political friends, and the governments that adopt it gain the benefit of long and skilled service by public employees.

324. Presidential Election of 1884. — In the elections of 1882 several strong Republican states elected Democratic governors. In New York, Grover Cleveland, previously mayor of Buffalo, swept the state and proved to be a remarkably strong governor. Hence in 1884 the Democratic convention put up Cleveland for the presidency. The Republicans after a long struggle nominated James G. Blaine (§ 319). He

was an able and popular man, who for years was a member of Congress from Maine and was chosen Speaker of the House. He belonged to what was called the "stalwart" wing of the Republican party — the wing that was still talking about "reconstruction," the "colored vote," and the "rebels." Though a remarkably adroit politician, Blaine made many enemies by sharp personal attacks on other public men.

The Democrats declared that the government needed to be reformed, and Blaine was charged by some Republicans with using his office to enrich himself. The "Mugwumps," a group of Republicans chiefly from Massachusetts and New York, refused to support Blaine and voted for Cleveland. In New York the election was again close (§ 323), so that the Democratic plurality was only 1100 in a total vote of about 1,200,000. However, that carried 36 electoral votes, which with those of Connecticut, Indiana, New Jersey, and the solid South elected Grover Cleveland President. He was duly inaugurated in March, 1885.

325. Summary. — This chapter narrates the political events, elections, and controversies during the four Republican administrations from 1869 to 1885. The most striking events in the period are the struggle between the Republican and Democratic parties every four years to get possession of the national government.

President Grant was an upright and vigorous man who tried to improve the government but could not seem to cut loose from bad friends. It was a time of many frauds in government, such as the Whisky Ring and the Tweed Ring in the city of New York.

Reconstruction broke down. The southern whites, when left to themselves, took back their old leaders and elected Democrats. The negro vote was much lessened by the action of secret societies, especially the Ku-Klux Klan, and no act of Congress could stop the movement.

Grant was reelected in 1872; but the Civil War spirit was dying out and the Democrats gained ground. The farmers' organizations and the Greenbackers were organizing third parties.

In 1876 the Democrats almost elected Samuel J. Tilden, but by the decision of an Electoral Commission (1877) Hayes of Ohio was seated as President. He recalled the troops from the South.

The greenback controversy was settled by the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Just at this time a new trouble arose because the government no longer allowed free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. It was settled for a time by the Bland Act of 1878.

General Garfield of Ohio was elected President by the Republicans in 1880, but was assassinated early in his term. Under his successor, Chester A. Arthur, a bill was passed for reforming the civil service. In the election of 1884 a Democrat, Grover Cleveland, was chosen President, after 24 years of Republican administration.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 314) 1. What kind of man was President Grant? 2. What did Grant do to improve the civil service? 3. Was Grant a successful President? 4 (For an essay). Good points about Ulysses S. Grant.

(§ 315) 5. What troubles arose in the national government? 6. What was the Tweed Ring and how was it defeated?

(§ 316) 7. How did the South treat the reconstruction governments? 8. What was the Ku-Klux Klan? 9. How did reconstruction work out?

(§ 317) 10. What was the result of the election of 1872? 11. What was the "solid South"? 12. Why were cities important in politics? 13. How were politics affected by memories of the Civil War? by the constitutional amendments? 14. What were the principal "third parties"?

(§ 318) 15. How was the United States interested in Cuba? 16. (For an essay). Scenes in Cuba. 17. How was slavery ended in America? 18. Why was Santo Domingo not annexed?

(§ 319) 19. What were the issues of the election of 1876? 20. What was the dispute over the election? 21. How was it settled in 1877? 22. What kind of President was Hayes?

(§ 320) 23. Why was the currency of the country inconvenient? 24. Why was paper money popular? 25. How were specie payments resumed?

(§ 321) 26. What was bimetallism? 27. What was the "16-to-1" ratio? 28. What was free coinage? 29. Why did silver coinage cease in 1873? 30. Why did silver miners desire free coinage of silver? 31. Why did the silver men and gold men clash?

(§ 322) 32. Why was free silver popular? 33. What was the Bland Act? 34. How did the silver question end?

(§ 323) 35. What was the result of the election of 1880? 36. How did Arthur become President? 37. What was the Pendleton Civil Service Act? 38. How has civil service reform affected states and cities?

(§ 324) 39. Who were the candidates in the election of 1884? 40. Who was chosen President?

CHAPTER XXX

THE NEW SOUTH (1869-1885)

326. Poverty of the South (1865-1890). — One plain result of the Civil War was that the seceding states and parts of the border states were ruined (§§ 291, 295). Large amounts of property had been destroyed by the armies on both sides. The four cotton crops raised from 1861 to 1864 could not be shipped during the war because of the blockade; and as the Union armies advanced, the cotton on their line of march was seized. Some landed estates were confiscated or sold for taxes by the federal government; and Charleston, Richmond, and other cities suffered from terrible fires.

When the war ended, business was in confusion in the South. The specie, stocks of goods, and other savings had disappeared. The railroads were worn out. For a time there was no currency, for both Confederate and state paper notes were worthless. The state governments were heavily in debt; but their most dreadful loss was that of nearly 300,000 of their most vigorous men in the war.

Nevertheless the South had two great assets: a country rich in natural resources, and a people who had the courage to react from the losses of the war. Good land abounded, especially the rich black cotton lands of the lower South. Corn could be raised anywhere for food; cotton would pay for flour and salt meats from the North. The southerners speedily found a market for the valuable red and yellow pine which stretched in a broad belt from North Carolina to Arkansas. Underneath the mountains were enormous stores of coal and iron, which as yet had hardly been touched. On the coast lay beds of phosphate rock, which would enrich the cotton fields. In Louisiana and Texas were great deposits of salt and oil. With laborers and a new business organization there would

soon be plenty of cotton, tobacco, corn, vegetables, pig iron, and lumber, to use and to sell.

327. Negro Problem (1865-1885). — The first necessity for the South was labor. The old farmers who worked their own land returned to their farms; but the only supply of laborers for wages was the former slaves. Contrary to expectation few of the negroes went north, because most of them wanted to work on plantations. Many of the former owners, or their sons, were dead. How could the negroes be supported? There were no savings; and the field hands, unless they could draw pay every month, would starve. Somebody must come forward to find the means to furnish them with food while the crops were growing, or else the work must stop. Many plantations changed hands; some were cut up into small farms which were bought by former poor whites, who thus raised themselves above the conditions of the period before the war (§ 196).

The freedmen were employed on the plantations on various terms and conditions: (1) The "wage hands" received money wages and bought their own supplies — so did the masons, blacksmiths, and carpenters in the cities. (2) Part of the negroes were "furnished"; that is, were allowed a certain amount each month in purchases at the plantation store. (3) A large number were "share hands"; that is, they worked a small tract on a plantation and got advances of supplies till the crop was sold. Then the planter figured up the amount produced and allowed to the workers from one third to two thirds of the proceeds, according to the previous bargain.

Hundreds of thousands of freedmen somehow got it into their minds that the United States government was going to give each family "40 acres and a mule." Though land was very cheap, few negroes had money, and not many knew how to save enough to pay for land. On the other hand, most white landowners would rather have the negroes work for them than sell them land and see them work for themselves. Still, many freedmen bought land, especially along the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

The negroes were free to move about, and a small part of them went into the towns and cities. There was work on the wharves, loading and unloading vessels, on the railroads and steamboats, in the tobacco factories and cotton presses and iron works; and mechanics and domestic servants could always find employment at fair wages.

328. Negro Suffrage. — The freedmen, as free citizens, were members of the community. Negro crimes were dealt with by the regular courts and juries. By the Fifteenth Amendment the states were forbidden to take away the suffrage because of previous slavery (§ 297). Negroes could also hold office and become county commissioners and members of the legislatures and even governors. Twenty negroes in all had seats in the national House of Representatives, and there were two negro Senators.

Perhaps the South might have become used to negro suffrage, especially by intelligent colored men; but the states found themselves governed by a combination of white men, many of bad character, and of ignorant negroes who a few months before were bond slaves. Northern states and cities suffered at that time and long afterward from corrupt legislators; and perhaps for that reason they were not so much shocked by the carpetbag governments of the South. But those governments have left unhappy memories in the minds of the fair-minded people, both North and South.

In some states, such as South Carolina, the white people paid most of the taxes, but the money was spent by negroes and white men led by corrupt whites. In a few states, especially Louisiana, the whites attempted to break up these governments by armed revolutions, but the troops under orders from Washington protected the carpetbaggers. The carpetbag governments, except in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, lasted only two or three years, for the Ku-Klux Klan (§ 316) caused the negroes to stay away from the polls. It is hard to say now what would have happened if negro suffrage could have had a longer trial, till the freedmen learned to divide their votes between the great parties, instead of always voting one ticket.

In most of the former border states and in Texas, the colored men continued to vote, so that several hundred thousand negro votes have been cast at every presidential election since the Civil War. Elsewhere in the South, only a few thousand have gone to the polls. Since 1876 the negroes have not controlled any state or county governments, even where nine tenths of the inhabitants were colored. All the laws which govern them are made and carried out by white men.



Statue of Margaret Haughery, the "Orphan's Friend," in New Orleans. She was an angel of charity to white and black alike. This is the first statue erected in memory of a woman in the United States

329. Advance in Education. — The reconstruction governments did some good things. One of them was to provide for free common public schools in every southern state, which were intended to give the boon of education to every child, white or black. All these schools, organized by white people, provided separate rooms and teachers for the negro pupils.

In Charleston and a few other places, white men and women taught the negro schools, but the almost universal rule was that none but negroes should teach negroes.

Since there was then no class of educated southern negroes, these teachers had to be trained either in state normal schools, which were slowly provided, or else in schools like Hampton in Virginia and Tuskegee in Alabama, which were chiefly supported by gifts from the North.

In the thinly settled country districts some white children and many negro children were provided with no schools, or the poorest kind of buildings and teachers. Still these rural schools have done good; for in 1870 about 32 per cent of the

grown men and women in the South could not read or write, and by 1910 the number was reduced to 16 per cent.

The southern people actively began to build up white colleges and universities. The public high schools were slower in starting. Nevertheless the South took its place alongside the North and the West in its desire to give its young people at least the chance of a good education.

330. Cotton. — Large expenditures for education were possible because of the rising profits from the southern farms, and especially from cotton. Cotton is measured in bales of about 500 pounds each; and the "bumper crop" of 1860 was nearly 5,000,000 bales. For some years after the war it was only half as much, but prices were about twice as high as before. In 1884 the crop was 5,700,000 bales, which brought in about \$240,000,000. It has since gradually risen to 16,000,000 bales (1914).

The advantages of cotton are that it grows in just such warm, moist climates as that of the lower South, can be raised by unskilled labor, and can always be sold for cash. It was found that some of the phosphate rock along the Atlantic coast could be made the basis of just the kind of fertilizer that cotton needed; and this made it possible to raise crops on poorer soil than before, and to restore worn-out lands. Nearly half the crop was raised by whites and negroes who owned land of their own and could raise only a bale or two of cotton.

The profits of cotton are much increased by selling the seed, which is always worth at least a tenth as much as the cotton fiber. It contains a very good oil which when pressed out can hardly be distinguished from olive oil. The rest of the seed is made into oil cake, a good food for cattle.

The South also raised a tobacco crop, — nearly all in the border states, — a small rice crop in South Carolina, and some sugar in Louisiana. For their own use the people raised corn and vegetables, and it was found that the coast of Virginia and the Carolinas was near enough to the northern cities so that "truck farming" paid; that is, the raising of fruits and vegetables on a large scale for the northern market.

331. Mining and Manufactures. — Not till about 1870 did the South begin to make use of the immense quantities of coal and iron ore in central Alabama, Tennessee, West Vir-



An iron mine in Alabama

ginia, and elsewhere. Blast furnaces were built for making pig iron, and rolling mills for bar iron, rails, and steel. Such cities as Birmingham in Alabama, Chattanooga in Tennessee, and Roanoke in Virginia, became centers of this great industry.

It was found that negro labor was well adapted for the work, and pig iron could at most times be made cheaper in Alabama than anywhere else in the world. Virginia coal, especially the "Pocahontas" variety, proved excellent for the use of ocean steamers. Cheap iron and coal made it possible to start factories of various kinds, such as the Locomotive Works in Richmond.

The South turned to cotton mills, in the hope of using the cotton near the field where it was grown, and thus saving the freight to the North. The main difficulty was the labor. Negroes were tried, but somehow they did not seem to be adapted to mill work. Then thousands of poor white families were induced to come to the mill towns, where father, mother,

and children could find work at fair wages. Immense cotton mills were put up at Columbia in South Carolina, Columbus in Georgia, Tallassee in Alabama, and many other places, where they utilized some of the excellent water power. Many thousand skilled workmen were drawn in by these industries; and the small farmers who did not go into the mills could make a better living than before by selling their farm products to the cities. Hence prosperity was distributed among several classes of the population.

332. Transportation. — All the improvements of the South depended on a better system of transportation. Steamboat traffic, especially on the Mississippi, was at its high point. Steamers raced all the way from St. Louis to New Orleans. Steamers arrived from foreign countries at Norfolk, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston, and some other ports.



Bales of cotton ready for shipment, Savannah

The southern railroads were practically rebuilt, with large extensions. In 1870 the South had only 15,000 miles out of the total of 53,000 miles in the United States. In 1890 the railroads of the South had increased to 51,000 miles out of a total of 164,000 miles in the United States.

The short separate routes were linked up into several great systems. All the big rivers were bridged, including a great bridge across the Mississippi at Memphis. The southern railroads had a wider gauge than the northern, but by 1896 all had been narrowed a few inches to correspond with the other roads in the country. Much of the money for these big enterprises was borrowed in the North or in Europe; but the South had good credit, and states, railroads, and banks

found no difficulty in getting all the money that they needed for their development.



Interior of a cotton mill

333. Wealth and Prosperity.—The growth of the South was shown also in its cities. The urban population slowly increased from 9 per cent in 1860 to 12 per cent in 1890. Part of the wealth of the region was going into new buildings and schools, into streets and street-car lines, into parks and boulevards.

Interior cities grew fast; among them were Atlanta, Montgomery, and Memphis. Out in Texas the struggling towns changed into such prosperous cities as Houston and Dallas. New Orleans lies a hundred miles from the sea. In 1879 the great engineer, Captain Eads, built jetties which narrowed the mouths of the Mississippi so that the immense volume of water coming down the river would scour out deep channels. This opened New Orleans to the big steamers.

The great need of the South was the right kind of laborers. The field hands were not very steady, and though they usually made contracts for a year, they used often to drift away in the middle of the season. The town negroes were partly me-

chanics and partly lived by small jobs, the women supporting many of the families by housework or laundry work.

Nevertheless the South began to come forward very fast. A cotton exposition was held in 1881 in Atlanta, which taught the people how much could be done in making up their own cotton into cloth. Part of the profits of the plantations and factories went into new banks. In all the cities and prosperous towns good houses, business blocks, and public buildings were built. By about 1890 the South had risen out of the poverty resulting from the Civil War.

334. Summary. — At the end of the war the South was almost ruined; but it abounded in rich land, and unworked forests and mines, and the people had the courage to begin again. A new system of plantation work was started, most of the negroes receiving a monthly allowance in food and supplies. Some of them bought land for themselves.

Under the Fifteenth Amendment, negroes had a vote on the same terms as white people. The whites laid the corruption of the carpetbag governments to negro suffrage; therefore, in the lower South, negroes were prevented from voting.

Free public schools were provided in all the southern states, for both whites and negroes. The town schools were fairly good, but in the thinly settled country, the schools were generally poorly taught. For higher education there were state universities and private colleges, and also several schools and colleges for the negroes which were kept up largely by gifts from the North.

Cotton came back to its old importance in the South. Truck farming for the northern markets sprang up along the Atlantic coast. By the use of cottonseed for its oil, the value of the cotton crop was increased.

Rich mines of coal and iron ore were opened, and several large manufacturing cities grew up. The cotton mills gave employment to thousands of the former poor whites, and were very profitable to the owners. The old water lines were again busy, especially the Mississippi River, and railroads were built from end to end of the South.

The result of all this activity was that slowly the South

became well off. The cities grew fast and new ones sprang up. The mouth of the Mississippi was opened to large steamers. Negro field labor was unsteady, but there were plenty of white and black mechanics; and by the year 1890 the South was richer and more prosperous than ever before.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 326) 1. What was the economic and business condition of the South after the war? 2. What were the business advantages of the South?

(§ 327) 3. What were the labor difficulties in the South? 4. How were the freedmen employed? 5. What did the negroes do for themselves?

(§ 328) 6. How did the negroes stand in the eyes of the law? 7. How did negro suffrage work? 8. How were the last carpetbag governments overthrown? 9. What political right have the negroes kept?

(§ 329) 10. How were schools organized in the South? 11 (For an essay). Education at Hampton or at Tuskegee. 12. How did the education of the whites progress?

(§ 330) 13. How did the cotton crops increase? 14 (For an essay). Life on a modern cotton plantation. 15. How was the growth of cotton extended? 16. What other products come from cotton? 17. What other crops were raised in the South?

(§ 331) 18. How did iron and steel making grow up in the South? 19. How did cotton mills arise?

(§ 332) 20. How were southern railroads extended? 21. How did the South raise money for such improvements?

(§ 333) 22. How did prosperity appear in the southern cities? 23 (For an essay). Construction of the Eads jetties. 24. What were southern labor difficulties? 25. What were the evidences of prosperity?

CHAPTER XXXI

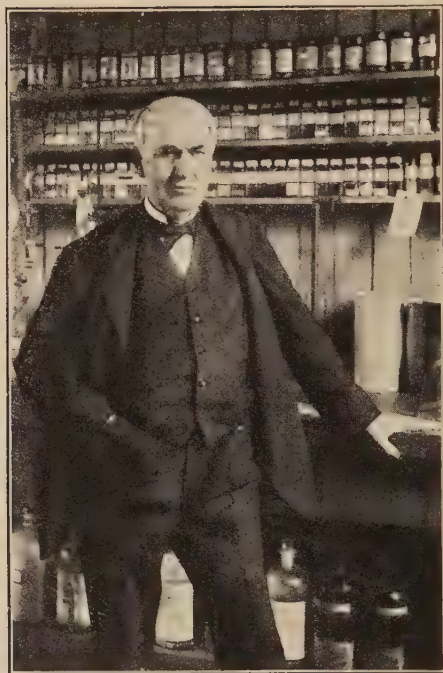
BUSINESS AND LABOR (1869-1890)

335. Inventions. — All sections and all industries shared in the benefit of the many inventions that relieved the muscles of men and animals; but none was so valuable as a new process for making steel cheaply. An Englishman named Bessemer discovered (1864) how to make steel out of cast iron so that it cost no more than ordinary rolled iron, while it was much harder, tougher, and stronger.

This discovery at once cheapened transportation, for it became possible to use steel rails instead of the weaker wrought-iron rails. The steel rail was so strong that heavier locomotives could be used, and they could draw heavier trains, which could carry more freight. The same tough and cheap steel was used in ships and for framing high buildings, which gradually developed into the modern skyscrapers. Cheap steel meant cheaper machines and tools of every kind.

The tall buildings could not have been put up or used without elevators, which came into wide use in hotels, office buildings, factories, and some private houses. Vessels were quickly loaded and unloaded by steam power, and a machine was invented which would lift up an open steel car holding fifty tons of coal and tip it over sidewise so that the coal could run into a coal pocket or a vessel.

Electricity had years before been harnessed for human use by the telegraph (§ 224). In 1876 Alexander Graham Bell perfected the electric telephone, a device by which the vibrations that cause sounds can be transmitted over a wire and heard at the other end. In a short time this little device grew into an enormous business with millions of telephones and many thousands of employees. The same year, Thomas



Thomas A. Edison in his laboratory

A. Edison invented the phonograph, by which the sound vibrations can be recorded on a disk or cylinder and then reproduced. This developed into a great business of supplying talking machines and dictaphones; that is, machines which will automatically take down and record conversations.

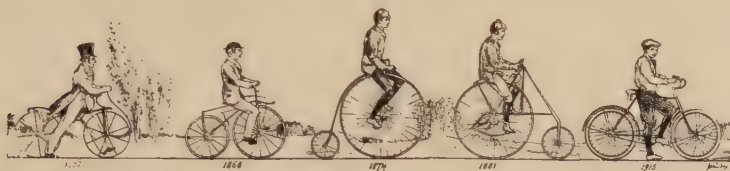
Electricity was also applied to lights: first the big and costly arc lights, then the incandescent lamps, which give abundant light with very little heat.

336. House and Farm Inventions. — Great office and apartment buildings could not have been inhabited by millions of people had not new means been discovered of furnishing heat. Hot-air furnaces worked well in moderate-sized houses; and the kitchen stoves and open fireplaces were aided by base burners, oil stoves, and gas stoves. For larger buildings and many small ones, steam or hot-water systems were put in.

The housekeeper found many new conveniences for furnishing and preparing food. Canned meats, vegetables, and fruits were furnished by the million cans. Ice was stored in the colder parts of the country and made artificially in factories in the South; and that made it possible to keep food stored in large and small refrigerators. Cereals, coconuts, raisins, and many other food products were packed in parcels. A great industry was introduced by canning the abundant salmon

and other fish of the northwest coast (§ 303). An immense fruit business was built up, with daily steamers bringing bananas and other tropical fruits from the West Indies, Central America, and Florida; and California oranges found a large sale throughout the Union.

Two machines that made a great difference in American life were the typewriter and the bicycle, introduced about



The development of the bicycle, 1818-1915

1880. The typewriter at once gave employment to thousands of men and women; and the method of dictating letters and documents to stenographers to be copied out on the typewriter was a great convenience to business and professional men. The bicycle, which at first was a tall and clumsy machine, was soon developed into a low, compact affair, on which a sturdy rider could travel as much as a hundred miles in a day.



Modern combined harvester and reaper at work in Washington

Mowers, reapers, and other farm machinery were improved. Harvesting machines were built to be drawn by forty horses; as these cross the fields, they leave the grain cut, threshed, and tied into bags. In some parts of the country farmers

used natural gas for heating and lighting, and everywhere the farm telephone proved a blessing.

After 1896 the government helped to make farm life attractive by introducing a system of rural free delivery by which letters were brought to the gateway of the farm. The state and national governments also worked to improve the conditions of the farmer by showing how to use better seed, how to feed cattle, and in general how to get the largest return from the farm.

337. Large Corporations (1865-1885). — Before the Civil War some railroad corporations began to combine into larger corporations. For instance, in 1853 five short lines, situated between Albany and Buffalo, were united into the New York Central Railroad. In 1869 Cornelius Vanderbilt added the Hudson River Railway and thus made a line four hundred and fifty miles long from New York to Buffalo, with many branches. About forty local telegraph companies combined into the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Manufacturing companies also began to combine. A new industry sprang up about 1860 when large quantities of heavy mineral oil, called petroleum, were discovered in western Pennsylvania; like deposits were found later in many other parts of the country. By a cheap and easy process of "refining," a beautiful illuminating oil, as clear as water, could be drawn from petroleum. For about ten years the refining was done by small firms and companies. Then appeared (1870) the Standard Oil Company of Cleveland, which built immense oil refineries, and obtained such favorable freight rates that it drove many of the other refineries out of business. Finally it built a pipe line from the Pennsylvania oil fields to the seacoast, and could get along without the railroads.

This idea of "combining" to secure control of some one line of industry spread throughout the country. It was applied to the making of sugar, of hardware, of cordage, of spool cotton, and of many other products. Individuals and firms did not like to see business slipping out of their hands, but for a long time they could find no way of preventing these combinations, which came to be called "trusts."

338. Labor Organizations (1865-1886). — Previous to the Civil War the only national labor unions were those of skilled workmen, such as the printers or the molders. The miners and railroad men were not organized into unions, and few employers of any kind had trouble with their employees. Most of the owners and managers had started as wage workers, knew their hands personally, and if there was any dispute could talk things over in a friendly way.

During and after the war more powerful organizations were formed, such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (1863). The first successful national union open to workmen of all trades was the Knights of Labor (1869). Both the special unions and this general union always desired to put forward their officers to settle disputes with local shops or railroads, instead of leaving the settlement to committees from the local unions; but many employers refused to talk over labor troubles with anybody except men in their own employment.



Garment makers at work in a shop in New York

The labor unions were very anxious to secure agreements for the "closed shop," by which they meant that no person should be employed in any shop or works unless he was a member of the local union in his trade. Many employers insisted upon the "open shop," by which they meant that

they should be free to employ any man whether he belonged to a union or not. Many employers went further and refused to employ a man unless he would agree not to join the union.

It was easy to see that the railroad men had a very strong position, because if they struck and the railroads did not run,



Swing bridge over the Chicago River. Drawn from a photograph made before the fire in 1871

most factories and mines would have to shut down. The first great test of the strength of the railroad organization was made in 1877 by a strike which began in Pittsburgh and spread to many other places. Unfortunately for the men's cause, rioters took advantage of the situation to set fire to trains, freight houses, and buildings; and they could not be put down except by calling out United States troops.

A new national organization now arose called the American Federation of Labor, which was a union not of men, but of labor unions; and it was governed by conventions of delegates from those unions. Since the federation controlled unions all over the country, labor leaders worked by what they called "sympathetic strikes"; that is, if a strike were going on in one shop or trade, they would call out the men in other shops or trades, so as to compel the employers

to come to terms. They tried to make the employers "recognize the union"; that is, agree in case of disputes with their workmen to discuss matters with officers of the American Federation.

339. Calamities. — In the midst of great prosperity, the people of the United States suffered from many local accidents. Floods repeatedly swept down the Ohio River, destroying millions of dollars' worth of property; the Mississippi broke its levees, and submerged thousands of square miles. No other civilized country had so many flimsy buildings. Because of wooden construction a fire in Chicago in 1871 swept through the heart of the city with a loss of 190 million dollars. The next year a similar fire burned about half the business section of Boston with a loss of 73 millions, and since that time Baltimore and San Francisco (1906) have suffered in the same way. All these cities quickly recovered; but the annual fire loss of the United States amounted in this period to about \$100,000,000.

Carelessness was chiefly responsible for the terrible forest fires which raged in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and out on the Pacific coast, destroying immense amounts of timber that will never grow again. Another class of accidents came from weak dams. The giving way of such a dam in western Pennsylvania in 1889 caused the almost total destruction of the flourishing city of Johnstown and a loss of over 2000 lives.

340. Railroad Building. — All this time new railroads were being built from St. Louis and Kansas City southward to New Orleans and Galveston. In course of time the railroads supplanted the steamboats, till the Mississippi River was almost deserted. It was a period of "railroad kings." Cornelius Vanderbilt of New York extended the New York Central Railroad (§ 337) by a network of railroads leading from Buffalo to Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago; and the whole system was called "the Vanderbilt roads." Another system of the same kind was the Pennsylvania Railroad, of which the president was Thomas Scott. It consolidated with lines from Pittsburgh west to Cleveland,

Toledo, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis, and built eastward from Philadelphia to the city of New York.

These two were the greatest and richest railroad companies in the East, but there were several other railroads from the Atlantic coast to the West, especially the Erie, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Chesapeake and Ohio; and they tried to take business away from the two big systems by making lower rates. This led to "railroad wars" in which passenger rates were cut as low as one dollar from Cincinnati to Washington. To stop these wars the various roads formed what they called a "pool," in which each of the competing railroads was to have a certain percentage of all the through freight that was offered.

341. Rapid Transit. — Meanwhile population was pouring into the cities till it was difficult to get about in the rush hours. The old-fashioned horse cars were slow, and crowded the streets. As business increased, the "franchises" — the right to run cars through the streets — came to be valuable. When they ran out, the companies tried to get new grants on the old terms, — that is, without any payment to the cities, — and that led to contests and scandals.

The city of New York sought relief by chartering companies (1870) to build elevated roads, which were really iron or steel bridges running lengthwise through the streets, and carrying light passenger trains. This example was later followed by Brooklyn (afterwards annexed to New York) and by Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

For driving street cars on the surface lines, compressed air and steam were tried without success, and then came the cable system, first used in the steep streets of San Francisco (1873). Through a slot between the rails a grip reached down from the cars and caught hold of a cable which was running steadily in one direction and drew the car along. Later came the electric trolley lines.

342. Improvements in Transportation. — The consolidation of railroad lines into systems, and the improved tracks, locomotives, and air brakes enabled the railroads to reduce their freight rates. With the big new cars one train crew could

handle as many tons of freight as would have needed five train crews in earlier years. A saving was made also by the building of bridges to take the place of expensive ferries. The first great bridge in the East was that across the Hudson at Albany in 1866. By 1885 the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi rivers were bridged at about forty points. The great railroad systems made through trains possible. Several roads built their own sleeping cars; then companies were formed to operate sleeping cars on long runs; but in the end the Pullman Car Company secured this business on nearly all the systems. Parcels weighing more than four pounds were not received in the United States mail till 1913.



Building a steel bridge

Meanwhile the small express companies gradually combined, until nearly all the business was done by five companies: the Adams, the American, the United States, the Southern, and the Wells, Fargo and Co. They owned no cars, but collected packages, sent them by the railroads, and delivered them at the other end. Their rates were high, and their profits large.

Mail and telegraphic communication was much improved. All the little local telegraph companies finally came into one or the other of two main systems, the Postal Telegraph and the Western Union (§ 337). Long-distance telephoning was a new and valued means of carrying on business at a great distance. The United States government soon after

the Civil War improved its postal service by delivering letters in cities, by selling money orders, and by providing special railroad cars in which mail could be sorted while the train was in motion. In later times it added other improvements, such as rural free delivery (§ 336), postal savings banks (1910), and the parcel post (1913).

343. Water Routes and the Isthmus Canal.—Great changes came about in water transportation. Most of the old canals (§ 186) went out of use and the great interior river routes slowly lost business. On the Great Lakes, shippers developed a trade of carrying coal up the Lakes and bringing back iron ore and grain in big steamers. On the ocean, lakes,



Side-wheel steamboats racing on the Mississippi River. From a lithograph of 1860

and rivers, screw propellers took the place of most of the old-fashioned side-wheels on steamers. In 1869 the White Star line from New York to Liverpool began to build a larger type of steamers, so fast and so well designed that they could travel on schedule time in nearly any kind of weather.

One of the greatest enterprises for trade and commerce ever undertaken was a canal across the narrow Isthmus of Panama. Old ideas for a canal from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific were revived after the Suez Canal was opened from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea (1869) by the French engineer De Lesseps. He next proposed to build a canal across the narrow part of America, and selected the Panama

route as shorter and easier than the route across Nicaragua. A canal across Panama would be only fifty miles long from sea to sea, the land was only three hundred feet high, and De Lesseps thought he could cut a channel down to sea level. A French company was formed for that purpose (1878), but President Hayes said that any such canal would be part of the coast line of the United States.

344. Complaints about Transportation.

—After 1873 the railroads were not so popular as they had once been. Many of their managers forgot that all American railroads and steamers were "common carriers"; that is, that they were bound by law to accept all the freight and passengers that came to them, and to make the same charges to all for

the same service. Some of them gave special secret rates to large shippers or personal friends. They looked on railroading as a private business, and considered that they had the right to charge such rates, to pay such wages, and to run such trains as suited themselves.

It was hard to find out whether the shippers were treated alike, for the roads were not obliged to print or publish their rates. For example, they could make a special rate for those who shipped so many hundred carloads a year, and that might apply to only one favored company. Under the pool system (§ 340) freight was sometimes sent by one rail-



A great modern trans-Atlantic liner beside the earliest ship of the same line, to show the comparative size

road when the shipper desired it to go by another line. Thousands of favored people received passes for themselves and their families, while others made up the cost by paying the regular fares. Small railroads were sometimes crowded hard by the large systems.

Many shippers objected to the "short-haul" system, which meant that railroads would charge more to send freight, say from New York to Toledo, than from New York to Chicago — a longer haul by 250 miles. Rates were often so made as to help a particular city or corporation against other cities or business men. Some railroad officers held stock in sleeping-car lines, fast freight lines, express companies, and companies formed to build the railroads; and they made contracts with themselves, giving themselves larger profits than other stockholders.

Very little could be done by the state governments to curb the railroads, because they were such a tremendous power in politics. In some states they succeeded in having their friends elected to the legislatures; and for years it was difficult for a man who openly opposed the railroads to secure election to an important public office. On the other hand the railroads made possible the rapid settlement of the West and the wealth of the East. By 1885 it was clear that nothing but the national government could control the great railroads, which were rich and powerful, and which stretched through many states.

345. Summary. — This chapter records the growth of inventions, of large and powerful business and labor organizations, and of new systems of transportation by land and water, down to 1890.

The progress of invention made it possible to do more work with less manual labor than formerly. Factories, private business, homes, and farms used new machinery of many kinds.

As wealth and business increased, great business corporations sprang up, some of which were called trusts. The workmen on their side began to organize in a stronger way with powerful central unions. This led to strikes, and the workmen no longer felt that their interests were the same as those of the employers.

The country suffered from great floods and storms, and carelessness in building caused terrible fires.

The railroads of the East, South, and West were extended and short lines were linked into systems, of which the strongest were the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. In the cities the old-fashioned horse cars were given up for elevated roads and cable systems, and the trolley car system was invented. Many great bridges were built for highways and railroads.

Freight rates were reduced, and the running of through trains with sleeping cars was made easy by consolidated lines. The express business came into the hands of five strong companies. The old canals were little used. New and larger steamers were used on the Great Lakes and in the ocean trade. The President was aroused when the French undertook to build a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

The railroads, although under the law they were common carriers, made distinctions between cities, lines of business, and individual shippers. Under the short-haul principle they would often make lower rates for long distances than for short distances. A feeling arose that the big corporations and especially the railroads needed regulation.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 335) 1. What were the principal inventions of this period? 2. How did cheap steel affect industry? 3 (For an essay). A visit to a steel plant. 4. What were the most important electric inventions?

(§ 336) 5. What were the most important household inventions? 6. What new machines for general use affected industry? 7. What were the most important farm inventions? 8. What was done to make farm life attractive?

(§ 337) 9. How were railroads gathered into large systems? 10. How was the oil industry developed? 11 (For an essay). Visit to an oil well. 12. What were the trusts?

(§ 338) 13. How were disputes at first settled between employers and employees? 14. How were labor unions formed? 15 (For an essay). A meeting of a labor union. 16. What was the policy of the unions as to settling disputes? 17. What is the closed shop? 18. How did the railroad strikes result? 19 (For an essay). The railroad strike of 1877. 20. What were the methods of the labor federations?

(§ 339) 21. What calamities befell the country? 22. What damage was caused by fire and flood? 23 (For an essay). The Johnstown flood; *or* the San Francisco fire.

(§ 340) 24. What railroad systems were built up? 25. How were "railroad wars" settled?

(§ 341) 26. How were street railroads managed? 27. What are franchises? 28. What caused the building of elevated roads? 29. What were cable cars?

(§ 342) 30. How was railroad service improved? 31 (For an essay). The building of a bridge across the Ohio *or* across the Mississippi. 32. How was the express business carried on? 33 How were means of communication improved?

(§ 343) 34. How was water transportation improved? 35 (For an essay). A steamer trip on the Great Lakes *or* along the Atlantic *or* along the Pacific coast. 36. What were the plans for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama?

(§ 344) 37. What is a "common carrier"? 38. What privileges did favored patrons of the railroads receive? 39. What was the "short-haul" system? 40. What could the states do to control the railroads? 41. What did the railroads do for the country?

CHAPTER XXXII

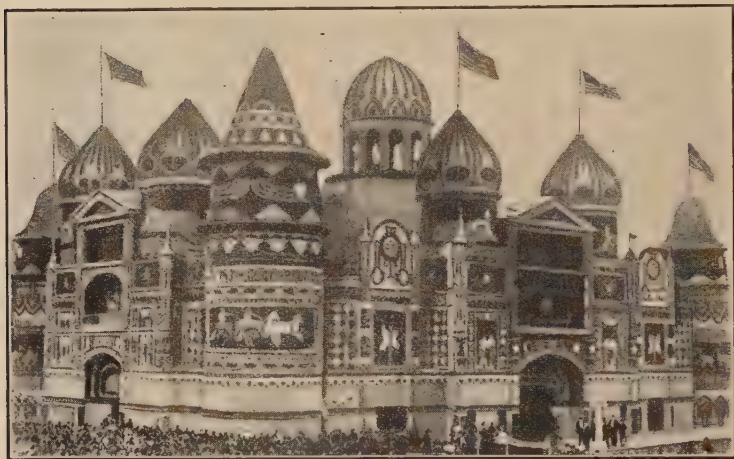
DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS (1885-1897)

346. President Cleveland (1885-1889). — When the new President came into office in March, 1885 (§ 324), the Republicans felt as though the sky were going to fall. Some "stalwart" Republicans predicted that the colored people would again be made slaves, and that the Confederate bonds would be paid off by the national government.

President Cleveland had had little political experience and was not much known outside of New York state. He was a gruff, plain man with a set purpose to make a strong government. He felt that such a government ought to keep up the financial system of banks and corporations that then existed. He was opposed to the protective tariff which was strongly supported by the Republican party, and he meant to hit it hard. He had no powerful personal friends and backers and his only hope of success was that the people would approve the things that he wanted to do.

There had been Republican Presidents without a break for twenty-four years, and few Democrats were in federal offices. The Democratic politicians, therefore, were in favor of turning out many of the officeholders, on the ground that they had been using the time paid for by the government in working for the Republican party. Cleveland called such party workers "offensive partisans," and removed over 3000 persons. Subordinates were dismissed right and left so that after a few years most of the employees of the government were Democrats. Still, Cleveland did not disturb the small classified service, which had been set up by President Arthur (§ 323); and just at the end of his term he added over 5000 railway mail clerks to that service.

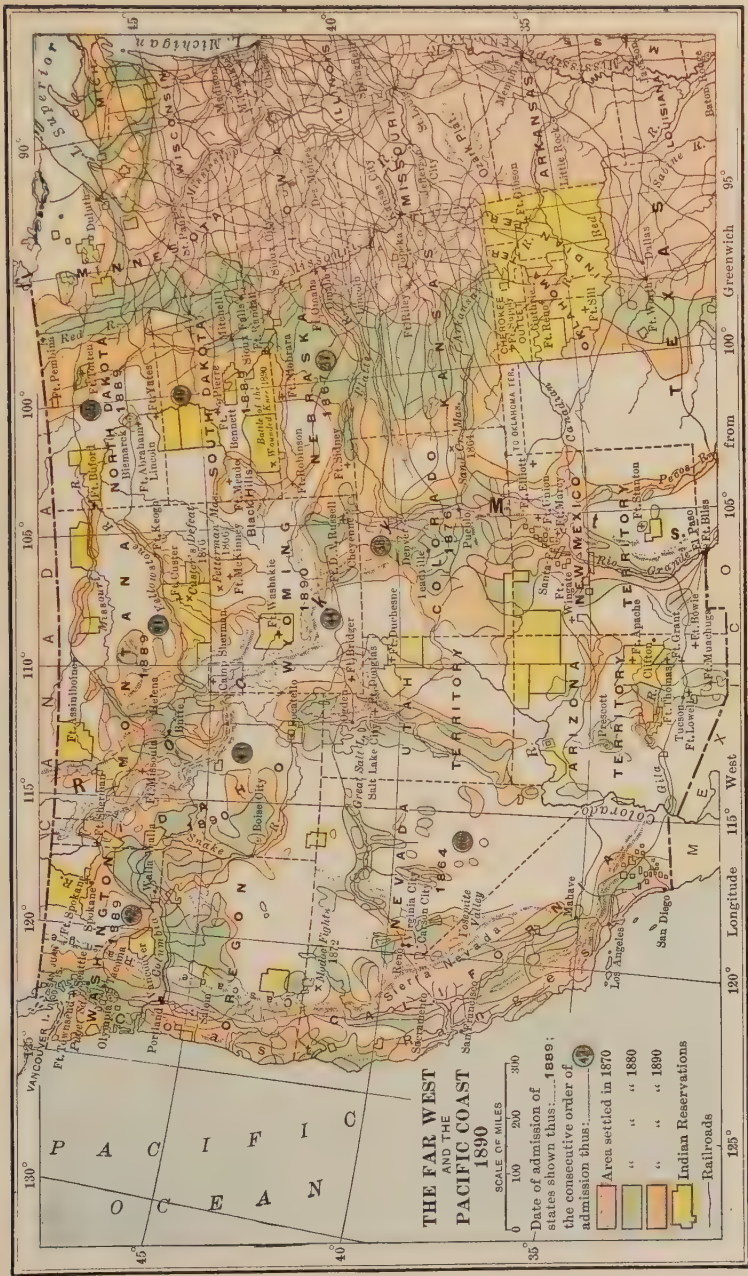
347. New States (1889-1890). — During his administration Cleveland signed bills looking to the admission of four new states; and in November, 1889, they all came into the Union: (1) North Dakota (39th state) was a prairie farming region, extending across the upper Missouri Valley, with rich wheat lands. The population at the time of admission was about 190,000. (2) South Dakota (40th state) included a rich



Corn Palace at Mitchell, South Dakota. The outside of the entire building is decorated with ears of corn of various colors

prairie belt in its eastern section and a mountainous, mining country in the west. Its population was 330,000. (3) Montana (41st state), with a population of 130,000, made a huge state nearly as large as Wisconsin, Indiana, and Illinois together. Its chief industry was cattle ranching, with some mining. (4) Washington (42d state) had 350,000 people. It was an immense state including a magnificent seacoast and a large part of the Columbia River Valley.

In 1890 came two more states: (1) Idaho (43d state) was a large lumber and mining region with some rich land and a population of 90,000. (2) Wyoming (44th state) had then the small population of 62,000 but a large area of grazing and mineral land. At the northwestern corner is the wonderful Yellowstone geyser region.



Most of the twelve Senators from the six new western states were in favor of a silver coinage, and their presence aided in the passage of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 (§ 322).

348. Tariff Discussion (1883-1889). — The protective tariff which had been made during the Civil War was not a party question; duties were made high because the United States needed money. After the war many of the high duties were reduced. The United States kept up the tax on liquors and tobacco, and for the ten years from 1880 to 1890 the income of the government was many millions larger than its outgo, so that every year there was a surplus in the treasury.

One way of avoiding the surplus was to spend more money; another way was to reduce the tariff. In 1883 an attempt was made to carry out the latter method, but the majority of Congress wanted to keep up the system of protection to American industries (§ 184), and they passed a new tariff act in which many duties were increased.

The Democratic party was in general against the high tariff, and President Cleveland took up the question as the most important issue before the people. In 1887 he sent to Congress a message insisting that the tariff be revised so as to make it more reasonable and more consistent with itself; and that it be reduced so as to prevent a surplus and to cheapen the cost of goods. He said something must be done, because "it is a condition which confronts us — not a theory."

On that issue he was renominated by the Democrats and appealed to the country in the election of 1888. The Republicans put up Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, a grandson of President William H. Harrison, hoping that he could carry that close state. New York by a small majority chose Republican electors, and as in 1884 (§324) the large electoral vote of New York turned the scale. At the same time the Republicans secured a majority in both houses of Congress.

349. Tariff Arguments. — The election of 1888 was the first clear test in many years of what the American people thought about the tariff. From 1816 to 1833 (seventeen years) there had been a series of protective tariffs, which caused the nullification act of South Carolina (§ 212). From 1833 to 1861

(twenty-eight years) was an era of low tariffs. From 1861 to 1883 (twenty-two years) the tariff rates were raised or lowered according as the government needed money. From 1883 to 1913 (thirty years), there was constant discussion about the desirability of a high tariff, and six different tariff laws were passed.

The talk and agitation in Cleveland's administration brought out the fact that the voters of the country were about equally divided between the friends of high duties and those of low duties. Most of the Republicans were protectionists, and most of the Democrats were low-tariff men. The southern farmers and planters and part of the western farmers wanted low duties, so as to keep down the cost of the goods that they bought; but some of the farmers, especially in the eastern states and the new silver states of the Northwest, favored protection, because they thought it built up manufacturing cities which would buy their products.

How did the various sections in the Union divide upon this important question? The workmen in factories in the East and the middle states which were benefited by protection, especially in the wool and cotton mills and the iron works, naturally voted for a tariff in favor of the industries which they were helping to build up. The city of New York, as the greatest port in the country, preferred low duties that would bring about a lively commerce. Southern manufacturers of cotton and iron wanted a tariff on those products.

Some of the arguments for protection by high tariff have been stated earlier in this book (§ 184). It is interesting to know some other arguments, which came to the front after 1880: (1) The tariff diversified industry; that is, it helped to develop mines and manufactures in the United States as well as farming. (2) The tariff raised wages. (3) It was fair to buy of Americans and sell to them rather than to do business with people in foreign countries.

Among the modern anti-tariff arguments were the following: (1) The tariff fostered trusts and monopolies. (2) The tariff produced more revenue than was needed for national expenses and thereby caused extravagance. (3) The tariff raised the

cost of living. (4) Protection played into the hands of great manufacturing corporations, which subscribed large sums to the party campaign funds and then demanded favors in the tariff acts.

All these arguments had some weight and it was hard to balance them and decide which was the best course. During Benjamin Harrison's administration (1889-1893) the Republicans did not reduce the taxes on imports but spent the surpluses as they came along on public buildings, on pensions to the Civil War veterans and their widows, and on a new navy, which was begun in Arthur's administration.

350. Three New Tariffs (1890-1897). — Between 1890 and 1897 three different tariff laws were passed. Each was drawn up by a committee of the House of Representatives, called the Ways and Means Committee; and each was named after the chairman of that committee because he naturally had great influence over what went into the bill.

In 1890 the chairman was William McKinley of Ohio, one of the ablest and most popular members of Congress. He had been a soldier boy in the Civil War and was remarkable for his cordial nature and his good temper. His "McKinley Bill," as passed by the Republican majority in 1890, made the duties on the average about one tenth higher than they had been before. Within a few weeks after the bill went into effect it was noticed that the prices on dress goods and some other things had suddenly gone up much more than one tenth. That made the bill so unpopular that the Democrats were able to carry the elections for the House of Representatives that fall (1890).

The presidential election of 1892 was somewhat confused by a new third party. For several years western and southern farmers had been joining a new order called the "Farmers' Alliance." That movement led to a "People's party," members of which were commonly called "Populists." In the campaign of 1892 they put forward a candidate, General Weaver, who drew away many Republican votes. They carried four states in the West, including Kansas, and cast a total of more than a million votes.

Harrison and Cleveland were again nominated for the presidency by the Republican and Democratic parties, and made the most of the tariff issue as presented by the McKinley Bill. Cleveland carried New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and the states of the solid South and was elected. For the first time since 1856 the Democrats gained control of the presidency, House, and Senate, all at the same time.

The Democratic majority was strong enough in the House to draw up and pass a new tariff bill first called the "Wilson Bill." This bill would have considerably reduced the duties of the McKinley Bill, but when it went to the Senate several high-tariff Democratic Senators, under the leadership of Gorman of Maryland, raised some of them again. The House finally gave in and accepted the rates proposed by the Senate. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act (1894), which came out of this squabble, turned out to be not much lower than the McKinley tariff after all.

When the Republicans came into power again they passed the Dingley tariff (1897), which raised the duties higher than in the McKinley Bill. These frequent changes were bad for business because no importer or manufacturer knew what to expect.

351. Interstate Commerce (1887). — While the people were busy discussing the silver question (§322) and the tariff question, a third issue came up that had to be settled. This was about the railroads, which owned property worth thousands of millions of dollars and were forming huge systems (§ 340).

Several states tried to hold them in check through railroad commissions, beginning in 1869. These commissions soon found that they could affect only the movement of "intra-state traffic"; that is, of business which started and came to its destination within the boundaries of a single state. The moment a passenger or shipment was carried across a state boundary it became "interstate" commerce, which by the federal Constitution was handed over to the sole control of the United States government. Hence a strong and growing pressure was exerted upon Congress, to create a national

commission to regulate the interstate commerce which was more than four fifths of the whole railroad business.

After several years of discussion in Congress, the Interstate Commerce Act was passed in 1887. It was a complicated law, but the spirit of it was that the railroads must make equal rates to all users, must not charge more for a short haul (§ 344) than for a longer haul over the same line, must post printed rates, and must keep accounts in a form directed by the Commission. An Interstate Commerce Commission was provided to apply the law.

This bill was very important, for it created a means of controlling the railroads, no matter how rich and influential. Some time passed before the railroads could really believe that the Commission was in earnest; but when they disputed its decisions, Congress came forward and made the law stronger. For example, the railroads had to adopt safety couplings and other life-saving devices, and were forbidden to grant passes to interstate passengers.

Some of them tried to get around the law by charging equal rates and then paying to favored shippers a "rebate"; that is, a secret deduction on the freight bill. That practice also had to be forbidden. In course of time the Pullman Car Company and the express companies were brought under the rules of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which reduced their rates (1910).

The railroads discovered that the control of the Commission took away many drawbacks in their business, such as the pressure for free passes and special rates. They then sought to aid in the enforcement of the laws.

352. American Neighbors. — For years, the United States had been at peace with all European countries. Nevertheless things had not been going smoothly with some American nations; for the Latin American states (§ 192) did not justify the hope that they would become peaceful republics like the United States.

Mexico in particular went through about fifty years of disorder and civil war, one revolution after another. During our Civil War the French tried to seize the country; but the

United States, following the policy of the Monroe Doctrine (§ 193), made it clear that Mexico must not be a French colony, and the French troops hurriedly left (1867). After some years Porfirio Diaz became the head of the state; he enlisted a strong army and for about thirty years kept Mexico in order (1878-1911). He induced Americans to build railroads connecting with the United States and to invest money in mines and ranches.



Coconut palms in the Hawaiian Islands

The United States came into close relations with the independent little kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific. In 1893 Hawaiian citizens of American blood brought about a revolution, set up a republic, and asked the United States to annex the islands. President Cleveland refused because he thought that American ships and marines had had too much to do with the revolution. Five years later, however (1898), Congress passed an act for annexing the Hawaiian Republic, which became a regular territory of the United States.

Besides Mexico, there were three well-governed Latin-American countries which later were called the "A. B. C. powers": (1) The old La Plata colonies, now called Argentina; (2) Brazil, which became a federal republic in 1889; (3) Chile, on the west coast. Most of the other Latin American countries were weak and cursed with revolutions. Any adventurer who could raise a band of armed men and capture the capital might make himself president or dictator till he was put out of office or killed by another dictator.

In the weaker South American countries, trouble constantly arose because Americans doing business there were liable to plunder and personal abuse. Year after year these governments agreed to arbitrations or treaties or promises to pay money which was not paid, till the patience of the United States was severely tried. James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State under President Arthur (1881) and also under President Harrison (1889), tried hard to put an end to their differences. A Pan-American Congress was called at Washington, to which most of the Latin American powers sent delegates (1890), and Blaine did his best to induce them to stop their wars against one another.

The old-fashioned Monroe Doctrine had not been called into play for a long time, when Venezuela and Great Britain fell into discussion about the boundary of the little English colony of Guiana. In 1895 Richard Olney, then Secretary of State, maintained that the Monroe Doctrine forbade European powers to take disputed territory from any American state and notified the British government that it must give up or arbitrate. President Cleveland in a public message indicated that the United States would fight if necessary in defense of this principle. The British government was surprised to discover that the American people supported the President in his view and it hastened to agree to an arbitration. It then proved that the British claim to territory had been a reasonable one. From that time, however, the English were aroused to a sense of the importance of keeping on good terms with the United States.

353. Free Silver in the Election of 1896. — In 1893, the year before the Wilson tariff was passed, another commercial panic came on, which was thought to be caused by the fear of the people that they would be obliged to take silver instead of gold for their greenbacks. Congress under very strong pressure from President Cleveland stopped the purchase of silver (1893). The free-silver men throughout the country looked upon this action as a trick of the goldbugs (§ 321) and felt sure that if only the government would again allow free coinage of silver, the market price would surely rise.

Since President Cleveland was clearly in favor of using gold as the only standard, the Democratic party refused to follow him. In their nominating convention of 1896, William J. Bryan of Nebraska was put forward as the champion of the silver men, and though he was hardly known in the East he was nominated for the presidency with great enthusiasm. The Republicans nominated William McKinley, and their convention declared that their party was in favor of the gold standard. After a spirited contest, McKinley was elected.

If, as Mr. Bryan thought, there was not enough gold in the world to serve as standard for the world's business, the time had come to dig more gold. In 1896 placer gold was discovered in the Klondike River, which was one of the upper waters of the great Yukon, and another strike was made at Cape Nome in Alaska. There was a rush of miners, and so much gold came from Alaska and from new mines elsewhere that gold began to go down in value, or silver began to come up — nobody knows which. In 1900 Congress adopted the gold standard (§§ 321, 322). Within a few years, the country began to complain that there was too much gold; for the more gold there was, the higher the cost of living rose.

354. Summary. — This chapter takes up the political and party questions of the two Democratic administrations of Grover Cleveland and the midway Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison.

President Cleveland came into power in 1885 with little previous experience, but showed himself a leader. In the two years 1889 and 1890, six northwestern states were added to



Totem pole of Alaskan Indians,
now in Seattle, Washington

the Union. The tariff question, which had been raised by the tariff of 1883, divided the two parties. The Republicans got control and passed the McKinley tariff of 1890. Various new arguments for and against the tariff were launched. Cleveland and a Democratic Congress were elected in 1892 and passed the Wilson tariff of 1894.

After long discussion, the Interstate Commerce Act was passed in 1887, by which the railroads were much restricted and a commission was appointed to supervise them.

The Latin American countries gave some trouble through their revolutions and injuries to the persons and property of Americans. A Pan-American Congress was held, and President Cleveland applied the Monroe Doctrine against action by Great Britain thought unfriendly to Venezuela.

The free-silver contest arose again in the election of 1896, but Bryan, the Democratic candidate, was defeated, and the discovery of gold in Alaska and elsewhere helped to put an end to the problem. In 1900 gold was made the money standard of the United States.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 346) 1. Why did some people distrust President Cleveland? 2. What kind of man was he? 3 (For an essay). President Cleveland's life in the White House. 4. How did he treat the civil service?

(§ 347) 5. What new states came into the Union in 1889-1890? 6. How did their admission affect the silver question?

(§ 348) 7. How did the tariff affect the income of the government? 8. What was the tariff of 1883? 9. How did the election of 1888 come out?

(§ 349) 10. How has the tariff developed since 1816? 11. How did the farmers look on the tariff? 12. How did the geographical sections divide on the tariff? 13. What were the principal arguments for a protective tariff? 14. What were the arguments against it? 15. How did Congress dispose of the surplus revenue?

(§ 350) 16. What was the McKinley tariff? 17. What was the Populist party? 18. How did the election of 1892 come out? 19. What was the Wilson tariff? 20. What was the Dingley tariff?

(§ 351) 21. How did the states try to regulate the railroads? 22. What is interstate commerce? 23. What is the Interstate Commerce Commission? 24. How was the Interstate Commerce Act enlarged? 25. What efforts were made to evade the act?

(§ 352) 26. How did the Latin American states carry on their affairs? 27 (For an essay). A trip to Mexico *or* Central America *or* the Hawaiian Islands. 28. How was Mexico governed? 29. How was the Hawaiian Republic formed? 30. What were the "A. B. C. powers"? 31. What troubles arose in Latin America? 32 (For an essay). A Latin American revolution. 33. What was the purpose of the Pan-American Congress of 1890? 34. What was the quarrel between Venezuela and Great Britain? 35. How did the United States settle it? 36 (For an essay). A visit to South America.

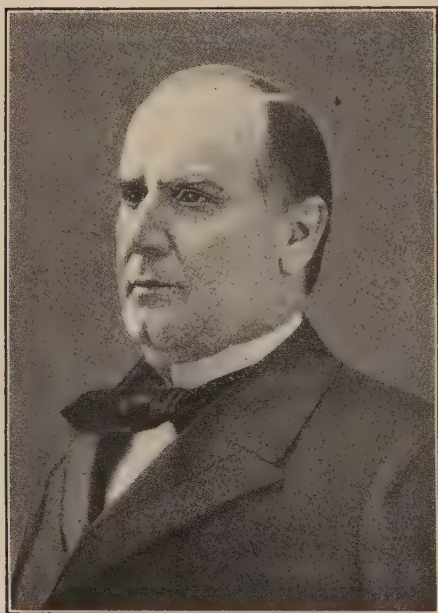
(§ 353) 37. What was the result of stopping the purchase of silver? 38. How did the election of 1896 come out? 39. How was the gold supply enlarged? 40 (For an essay). Experience of a gold miner in Alaska.



CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SPANISH WAR AND ITS RESULTS (1897-1907)

355. President McKinley. — Business was good after 1896. The bitter quarrels about free silver died down, and McKinley's genial character made him a strong and popular President. No one else in his time knew so well how to smooth



William McKinley, 1843-1901

out difficulties in Congress, and even his political enemies admired him. His warmest personal friend was Senator Mark Hanna of Ohio, who had brought about McKinley's nomination, but who did not attempt to control the policy of the President. The strongest member of the Cabinet was John Hay, formerly private secretary to Abraham Lincoln. As McKinley's Secretary of State, he was very successful in smoothing out troubles in our relations with other countries.

356. Cuba (1895-1898). — It will be remembered that Cuba was upset by a civil war from 1868 to 1878 (§ 318). Similar trouble broke out in 1895, when a revolution was set on foot by a group of educated and able people, aided by funds supplied

by Cubans living in the United States, and supported by white people and freed slaves. They set up what was called a "Cuban Republic," though it was without a capital, an organized government, or a real army.

The United States was stirred up by this revolution; first, because it disturbed the heavy trade between the mainland and Cuba, especially in sugar; second, because Cuba lay only a hundred miles from the southern end of Florida, and many Americans wanted to annex it.

The Spanish government sent over about a hundred thousand soldiers, and both sides raided and burned the towns and plantations and sugar-cane fields. The Spanish governor, General Weyler, issued an order for "reconcentration"; that is, he compelled the country people to come in off their farms and stay inside the Spanish lines. When thus taken away from their homes they had not sufficient food and many of these poor people died of hunger.

Most of the Americans felt a sympathy for the Cubans, who seemed to be doing what had been done by the Revolutionary patriots of 1775; and more than twenty little "filibustering" expeditions were fitted out to carry men and military supplies to their assistance. President Cleveland did what he could to keep this country neutral by stopping the filibusters; but Spain took great offense, and some American newspaper correspondents and others who went to Cuba were arrested.

357. Outbreak of the Spanish War (1898). — President McKinley asked the Spanish government to give the Cubans "autonomy"; that is, the right to govern themselves in local matters. In February, 1898, the American battleship *Maine*, which was lying in the harbor of Havana, was blown up by a torpedo or mine from the outside. Though we now feel sure that the Spanish government neither desired nor supported such an act, it aroused a hostile feeling in the United States.

The home government of Spain offered to do almost anything to prevent war, but President McKinley and his advisers decided that this country must put an end to the Spanish control over Cuba. Hence, at his recommendation Congress voted (April 20, 1898) that the American army and

navy should turn the Spaniards out. Included in the resolution was the so-called "Teller Resolution," in which Congress promised that the island should be given back to its own people. Spain accepted the resolution as a declaration of war.

358. Course of the Spanish War (1898). — The first fighting was in the far-off Philippine Islands (§ 14). Commodore (later Admiral) Dewey was sent with a squadron of steel armored ships to Manila Bay, and found a weak Spanish fleet lying off the arsenal of Cavite. In a fight of a few hours (May 1, 1898) the Spanish fleet was destroyed.

A second fleet under Admiral Cervera crossed the ocean from Spain and put into the Cuban harbor of Santiago. A



Santiago de Cuba and vicinity

few weeks later a little American army of about 17,000 men under the command of General Shafter landed near Santiago. His force moved overland and fought the only land battles of the Cuban war, at El Caney and San Juan Hill. The total loss to the Americans was only 1500. Cervera's ships made a dash

to the sea but were caught in a running fight by Admiral Sampson's fleet, and not a Spanish vessel escaped. Santiago then surrendered. An army sent out under General Miles occupied the island of Porto Rico, almost without firing a shot. A month later the city of Manila surrendered to troops sent out from the Pacific coast. Thus the Spaniards were defeated in every fight by land or sea.

359. How the War was Carried On (1898). — After war was declared, the American people learned that they were not prepared for even so small a contest. The American navy was in good shape and well drilled. But the American land forces before the war were only about 26,000 in all, and were so scattered that hardly one full regiment could be brought together. Just as in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, the government depended on state militia. A few states had well-drilled regiments; from other states, men



Charge of American troops at El Caney

came into service with no guns or uniforms and no trained officers.

About 250,000 men were soon under arms, but some of them were camped in unhealthful places and drank bad water; thousands were stricken down with typhoid fever and other diseases which might have been prevented. The confusion and excitement were such that men were sent to Cuba on one ship, their horses on another, and their field guns on another. After the war, Elihu Root of New York became Secretary of War, and showed great ability in reorganizing the army.

Men and officers were brave and willing, but it was a cruel hardship to die of disease in the camps without ever seeing an enemy. Among the volunteers public attention was especially directed to the Rough Riders, a regiment of cavalry raised by Leonard Wood, who had been an army surgeon, and Theodore Roosevelt, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy. That part of the regiment which went to Cuba under the command of Roosevelt fought well in the confused battle of San Juan.

The total death loss of the United States army was about 3000 killed and died of disease; but 250,000 men were added to those who would sometime ask for pensions. The money cost of the war was about 165 millions.

360. Disposition of Cuba and Porto Rico (1898-1909). — After three months' hopeless struggle the Spanish government asked for peace. Hostilities ended in August, and four months later a treaty was signed in Paris by which Spain gave up Cuba and Porto Rico in the West Indies, and the Philippines and the island of Guam in the Pacific Ocean. The United States paid Spain 20 million dollars, which was intended to be a kind of purchase money for the Philippines.

This treaty left the United States free to deal with Cuba according to its judgment, and the promise made by the Teller Resolution (§ 357) that Cuba should not be annexed, was honorably kept for the new republic. A small American army remained in the island until a permanent Cuban government could be formed. In 1902, the army was withdrawn and the Cubans were left with a government of their own.

In fact, Cuba remained under the protection of the United States, for the new republic was obliged to accept the so-called "Platt Amendment" (1901), which was an act of Congress providing that Cuba must grant the United States some sites for naval stations, and must agree not to enter into any relations with foreign countries which might interfere with Cuban independence or which were opposed to the wishes of the United States.

The United States also reserved the right to send troops back to Cuba if the native government could not keep order; and when a revolution seemed likely in 1906 troops were sent there and remained three years. One of the advantages of these two occupations was that the officers and soldiers of the American army set up schools, cleaned the cities, and discovered that yellow fever was carried by a mosquito and could be stamped out by keeping the mosquito away from yellow-fever patients.

It was thought best to end the Spanish rule in America altogether, and therefore the island of Porto Rico was annexed outright. It was a rich island with a mixed white and negro

population of about 1,000,000. Congress set up a government there which was controlled by officers appointed from Washington. On the other hand, the island received the great advantage that goods passing between the states and Porto Rico in either direction were free from customs duties.

361. The Philippine Islands (1898-1908). — When the war began nobody expected that it would bring to the United States a large number of islands in the Pacific. In the course of the war the Hawaiian Islands (§ 352) were annexed; and the little island of Tutuila in the Samoan group was acquired by treaty in 1900. Guam was taken from Spain because it was a convenient naval station on the route across the Pacific Ocean.

By the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, the United States received more than 3000 separate islands with an area of nearly 115,000 square miles, which is about the area of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland. The population included about 1,000,000 uncivilized people, and 7,000,000 Christians of the Malay race, subdivided into groups of tribes, each speaking its own language.

The Filipinos for some time had been trying to set up an independent government under the leadership of Aguinaldo. Therefore, it seemed unkind for the United States to turn them back to the Spaniards. Several European powers had colonies on the eastern and southern coasts of Asia, and it seemed a fine thing that the United States should also have a foothold in that part of the world. The Philippine Islands were supposed to be rich and offered an opportunity to invest American capital.

President McKinley finally decided to take the islands; but the natives, who had organized an army to drive out the Spaniards, turned against the Americans. For two years they carried on what they considered a patriotic war of defense against the invaders; the United States considered it an armed insurrection and subdued it.

After a hard fight the Filipinos had to give in and Congress then set up for them an "insular government" in which the main features were a governor-general and a commission of

nine members, appointed by the President. In 1907 Congress set up an "insular legislature." Since the Filipinos were governed against their will by the United States, it seemed fair that they should be allowed to trade freely, without paying any duty in our customhouses. Accordingly in 1909 Congress allowed Philippine products to come into the United States free of duty.

President McKinley's course in favoring war, in conquering



Theodore Roosevelt

the Philippine Islands, and in holding them, was not accepted by all the American people. The "Anti-Imperialists" tried to prevent the Senate from ratifying the treaty of peace, and criticized the policy of trying to plant colonies in tropical and far distant regions. Nevertheless the people seemed to approve of McKinley's policy, for in 1900 he was easily elected President a second time over Bryan.

He was a man who

sincerely desired that his country should be both strong and just; and he was advancing in a great career when he was shot by an obscure and worthless man (September, 1901).

362. President Roosevelt (1901-1909). — By the death of President McKinley, the Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt, was brought to the White House. The new President was a remarkably active man, who had served in the New York

legislature, had been head of the national Civil Service Commission, Police Commissioner of New York, and a soldier in the Spanish War. His career brought him so sharply before the public that he was elected governor of the state of New York (1898). Thomas C. Platt, the Republican boss of that state, arranged to force upon Roosevelt the nomination as Vice President to get him out of state politics and in an office where he would have little influence. The unexpected result was that he became President.

Roosevelt was by nature inclined to strike out for himself. He had been brought up among eastern moneyed men and understood their way of thinking; he had also lived much in the far West and knew the needs of the people there. He was very direct and positive, and liked to see things done.

Such a man had a great opportunity, because after the Spanish War the American people began to look upon themselves as a "world power" which must take new responsibilities in America and in Asia. Hence a great public interest arose when (1900) the Boxer Rebellion broke out in China, and the foreign diplomats and their families were shut up in Peking. A small American force joined other forces from European countries and Japan in the rescue of the beleaguered men and women. The other powers wanted to take territory from China, but Secretary Hay laid down what he called the "open-door" policy; that is, every part of China must be equally open to the trade of every foreign country.

363. The Panama Canal (1899-1904). — Another evidence that the United States had become a world power was the taking over of the Panama Canal as a national public work. The French canal company (§ 343), after spending hundreds of millions of dollars, was obliged to give up; the employees died from malaria and yellow fever, and the money gave out. Some American capitalists attempted to construct a rival canal across the Nicaragua route. In 1900 a skilled and thorough commission of engineers reported to the United States government that it had better use the Nicaragua route, because the French company was still in possession of the Panama route and was asking too large a sum for it.

When President Roosevelt came into office (1901) he went to work systematically to clear the way for the canal. First, John Hay secured from Great Britain a treaty giving up any claim which that power might have in the canal. Then the



(c) Keystone View Co.

American steam shovel at work on the Panama Canal

republic of Colombia, within whose territory the French canal lay, offered to make a treaty which would enable the United States to build the canal (1902); but after it was accepted at Washington the Colombian Congress would not ratify it. A few weeks later the people of Panama revolted and set up a separate government. President Roosevelt at once seized the opportunity, recog-

nized and protected the new republic, and made a treaty with it (1903) by which the United States practically annexed a "canal zone" ten miles wide across the Isthmus (map, pages 8-9). The French company accepted \$40,000,000 cash for its interests and the building of the canal was soon under way.

364. The Monroe Doctrine (1902-1904).— The Colombians insisted that the United States had made a plot to take away their isthmus, and for years remained resentful. Other Latin American powers felt unfriendly towards the United States, partly because the American tariff interfered with their trade, but chiefly because they thought the Monroe Doctrine (§ 193) claimed authority over them. The doctrine was really intended for the protection of the weaker states. For example, when Germany was supposed to be looking for a place to plant colonies, and had difficulty with Venezuela (1902), President Roosevelt insisted that no territory should be occupied in America by any European power.

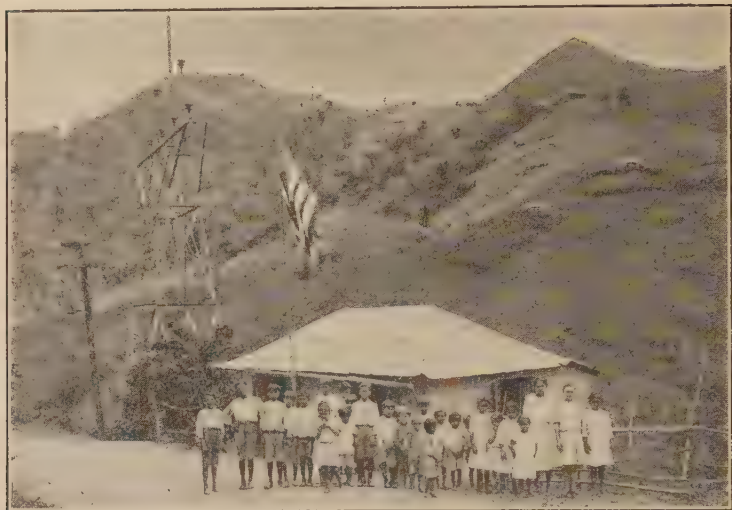
A new difficulty now appeared in applying the Monroe Doctrine. If foreign countries could not occupy territory, how were they to collect the claims that were always arising in those poorly governed countries? To meet this point the "Drago Doctrine" was suggested by an Argentine statesman, to the effect that armies and navies should never be used to collect the claims on debts and contracts.

If the Drago Doctrine was reasonable, what should be done if in Latin America foreign citizens were killed or their property was seized? Who could compel those powers to behave, if not the United States? To take that responsibility would make our government a kind of policeman for other neighboring American powers. President Roosevelt accepted that responsibility for Santo Domingo by making a treaty (with the consent of the Senate) whereby a financial officer was put in charge of the treasury there with instructions to see that the foreign debts were paid (1907).

President Roosevelt's policies seemed to be popular with the voters. When the election of 1904 came around, the Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, but he did not carry a single northern state. The Republicans nominated Roosevelt, who received a plurality of 2,500,000 votes.

365. Summary. — This chapter recounts the great change that came over the United States through a war with Spain in 1898, and the annexation of islands in the West Indies and the Pacific Ocean.

President McKinley proved to be a strong and popular President. He found the Cubans in a state of insurrection against Spain, and the American people strongly sympathized. The blowing up of the battleship *Maine*, and the feeling that the Spaniards would never govern Cuba justly, caused Congress to declare war on Spain in 1898. There were two naval fights, one in Manila Bay and one outside the Cuban harbor of Santiago. The only serious land fighting was the battle of San Juan near Santiago, and the siege of Manila in the Philippine Islands. The Spaniards were demoralized and gave up the fight.



A country school in Porto Rico

(c) Newman Traveltalks

The United States was able to send only 17,000 troops to Cuba, and most of the losses of the war were from disease. The state militia was not in good condition and the War Department was not able to handle the war properly.

Spain ceded to the United States, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands; and Cuba was turned over to its own people. A government was provided for Porto Rico with liberal privileges of trade. The Filipinos for two years resisted the Americans, and then received a government which was mostly outside of their control, but later they were allowed free trade with the United States.

By the death of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt became President and was active in pushing the interests of the American people in all parts of the world. He broke through the opposition of the French canal company and of Colombia, and thus prepared the way for a Panama Canal. He also made a new statement of the Monroe Doctrine, according to which the United States was to take the responsibility for keeping order in the Latin American states in order to prevent foreign invasion.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 355) 1. What kind of President was McKinley?

(§ 356) 2. What was the "Cuban Republic"? 3. Why was the United States interested in Cuba? 4. How did the Spanish War proceed? 5 (For an essay). The Spanish War. 6. What was "filibustering"?

(§ 357) 7. How was the *Maine* destroyed? 8. Why did Congress vote for war with Spain? 9. What was the Teller Resolution?

(§ 358) 10. How did the war affect the Philippines? 11. What happened in Cuba? 12 (For an essay). The message to Garcia. 13. What was the general result of the war?

(§ 359) 14. How was the American army raised? 15 (For an essay). The Rough Riders. 16. How was the army taken care of?

(§ 360) 17. What territory did the United States annex? 18. How was Cuba treated? 19. What was the Platt Amendment? 20. How was Porto Rico treated?

(§ 361) 21. What did the country gain in the Pacific? 22. Why were the Philippines annexed? 23. How were the Filipinos governed?

(§ 362) 24. How did Roosevelt become President? 25. What kind of President was he? 26. What was the Boxer Rebellion? the "open door"? 27 (For an essay). A visit to China.

(§ 363) 28. What efforts were made to construct an Isthmus canal? 29. How did the United States proceed in building the canal? 30. How was the title to the Panama Canal acquired?

(§ 364) 31. What is the Monroe Doctrine? 32. What is the Drago Doctrine? 33. What was Roosevelt's policy toward other American countries? 34. How did the election of 1904 come out?



In a steel mill—rolling plates

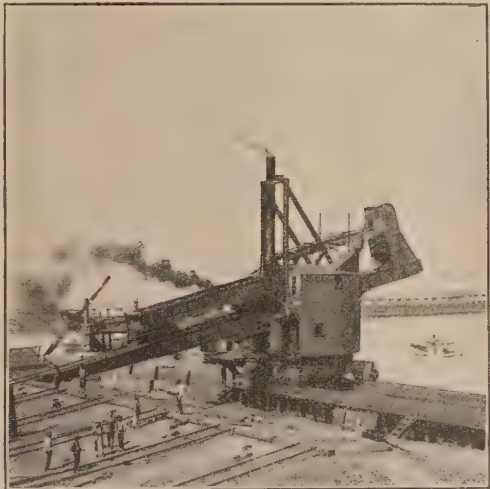
CHAPTER XXXIV

BIG BUSINESS (1890-1916)

366. Big Advantages for Business. — While Congress and the President were making laws and carrying on war and dealing with foreign nations, the people of the United States were growing every year more numerous, rich, and powerful. For this prosperity several reasons may be mentioned:

(1) The people were constantly gathering in the gifts of nature. They were using more and more of the big trees, the deposits of ore and coal, the oil and gas found deep underground, the fish of the sea, the rich farming soil. Never had the country known such a production of timber, minerals, and crops.

(2) This use of the wealth of nature was possible because the United

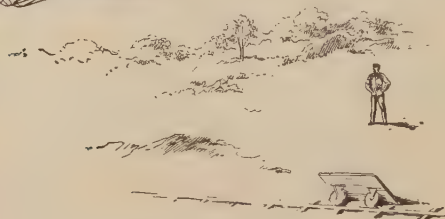


Machine for transferring ore from boats to freight cars, at one of the ports on Lake Erie

States was an industrious country. The strong and hard-working people, whether native or foreign-born, accomplished more in a year than any like number of people elsewhere in the world. They made much use of machinery, so that a given number of workers on the farms, in the shops and factories, or down in the mines could produce large amounts in proportion to their numbers.

(3) The United States had good railroads and waterways, so that the products of each section could easily reach the markets of the country and of the world.

367. Progress of Invention (1890-1916). — The United States was the most inventive country in the world. The gasoline engine was perfected about 1900, and its use rapidly spread over the world. It furnished great power with a small weight of machinery and was especially



Wright aéroplane in 1908

used for automobiles, motor cycles, power launches, and aéroplanes. Wireless telegraphy, invented by an Italian, was quickly perfected

and widely used. Typesetting machines, fast presses, and quick photography made it possible to issue cheap illustrated daily newspapers. Cheap cameras that took instantaneous pictures were sold by hundreds of thousands, and the great invention of moving pictures made a new amusement for millions of people.

The transportation of passengers on streets and roads in the United States was greatly improved in this period; practically all of the



Early type of automobile

surface street cars in the whole country and some regular railroad trains were moved by electric power, and both electric motors and gasoline engines came into use for carriages and trucks. The more cars, the worse the crowding in the streets; so in 1894 Boston began to build "subways"; that is, tunnels under the streets. By 1916 such subways were built or building in various cities, especially New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, to a combined length of 110 miles.

Automobiles made a great change in street and road travel. The whole country abounded in automobile busses, automobile stages, automobile sight-seeing cars, automobile trucks, and hundreds of thousands of private cars. Surveyors, doctors, manufacturers, traveling salesmen, and many other business men found that the automobile enabled them to do twice as much work as before.



Boulevard in Kansas City, Missouri

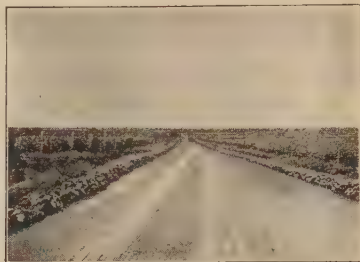
368. Good Roads. — The United States was far behind European countries in its streets and roads. In many cities, the ordinary pavements were made of rough cobblestones. Since wood was very cheap, a system of wood pavements came into use which made a beautiful and smooth roadway. The next improvement was the asphalt pavement made of a thick tarry material imported from Trinidad. In the open country the situation was bad because most of the old pikes and plank roads (§ 229) had worn out and had not been renewed. In rich states like Illinois, roads were so poor in rainy weather that sometimes for weeks together farmers could not get to the nearby railroad towns to ship their produce. There and in other states came an era of macadam roads or brick pavements on many country highways.

The automobiles helped to solve the road problem because they depended on a reasonably hard and even roadway. The result was that city people, farmers, and other users of the

roads combined to demand something better, and started the "good roads" movement, which became especially strong after



Dirt road before improvement



Good country road

1905. Many states, both east and west, appropriated large sums out of the public treasury — \$50,000,000 at one time in New York — to build good roads; and the counties and towns also spent money freely. Americans for the first time learned the lesson that good roads, by making heavier loads possible, are worth more than they cost.

369. Advantages for the People. — Great improvements were made in the daily life of the people. The state universities undertook to aid the farmers to raise better cattle, to take better care of milk, to make better butter and cheese, to select the seed for their crops, and to use proper fertilizers. All these things increased the products of the farms. The technical schools helped the engineers and manufacturers to find better and cheaper materials and to prevent waste in the factories. The public schools joined in teaching children how to help in the family work; for instance, in some states there were contests among children to see who could bake the best bread, or who could grow the most corn on a given area of land.

One of the greatest improvements was in the health of the people. Efforts were made to clean up the city slums in which there was much disease. Vaccination was so much extended that smallpox disappeared from most cities. "Serums" were discovered which acted in much the same way as vaccination against such dreaded diseases as diphtheria, typhoid fever, and lockjaw. A great boon to mankind was the discovery of

"antiseptic surgery," by which injured persons could often be saved and operations could be performed that would not otherwise have been possible.

Of course many of these advantages were shared by foreign nations and some of the inventions mentioned above (§ 367) came from foreign countries; but the Americans could make better use of them because they were quick, because they had a good system of education, and because they were accustomed to take care of themselves and rely on themselves.

370. Big Business Men. — In the early history of the United States, the men who were the leaders in public life were statesmen, occupying the high offices of the nation, the states, and the cities. Alongside them were men and women poets, orators, gifted preachers, novelists, and historians. Their renown was shared by explorers and men of adventure, arctic voyagers, and world travelers.

Later, as one of the effects of the improvements in industry, public attention was attracted also to highly successful business men who wrote little, made no speeches, hardly appeared in public, and seldom sought any office; but who affected the daily life of millions of their fellow countrymen and who were a great power in the development of the whole country. The first men of that type to become national figures were John Jacob Astor (§ 157) of New York and Stephen Girard (§ 227) of Philadelphia, both of whom left great fortunes.

After the Civil War, a most striking business figure was Cornelius Vanderbilt, who reorganized the New York Central Railroad and greatly reduced the cost of railroad transportation (§ 340). Several other great fortunes were made by railroad kings, particularly by James J. Hill of Minnesota, builder of the Great Northern Railroad to the Pacific coast. A large part of the wealth of these and other successful business men was invested in the stocks and bonds of railroads and other great corporations. Small investors also made use of this method, because they could put a few hundred or a few thousand dollars into corporations which were managed by the ablest business men. Such great corporations could employ the best engineers, lawyers, and scientific experts, and

put large sums into buying up timberlands, water-power sites, coal or ore land, mines, and building sites. The same method was applied in all the cities to great department stores and mail-order houses, which did business on an immense scale.

Smaller business men, firms, and corporations often felt the pressure of these large enterprises, and protested against what they called the "trusts." The result was a tide of feeling against the railroads which were joining into larger and larger systems, and also against large corporations of any kind.

Nevertheless, there was a constant tendency for small corporations to roll into larger ones, and for larger ones to join into still bigger concerns. The small Atlantic steamship lines were combined into great companies, some of which owned hundreds of vessels and built ships of 50,000 tons burden. Companies which carried on the business of supplying the everyday necessities of life were combined and enlarged into more powerful units.

All over the world there was the same tendency. Great oil companies were formed by the Germans and the Russians, great iron companies by the English. Some such combinations, as, for instance, that of the copper trade, included both foreign and American producers.

371. Monopolies and Trusts. — It was natural that, as the country grew larger and business increased, there should be larger corporations, some of which were big enough to control a considerable part of some one line of business. Such corporations were accused of trying to create "monopolies" in their lines of business, so that small concerns could not compete with them. Attacks on the big corporations, commonly called "trusts," were carried into the state legislatures; and many laws were passed by the states to prevent the big concerns from taking advantage of smaller concerns. At the same time, efforts were made to regulate the great railroads, which were the largest, richest, and most powerful corporations in the country.

But, because of differences in state laws, there was difficulty in regulating railroads, manufacturing concerns, or other kinds of corporations doing an interstate business. Further-

more, when goods are carried from one state to another, the business comes under the control of the United States Congress; hence, this so-called "Antitrust" war was carried over into Congress. Several national laws were passed, of which the most important was the "Sherman Antitrust Act" of 1890. This was intended to prevent monopolies in such trade or commerce as was carried on from one state to another. The corporation could be kept in check by regulating that part of its business which extended from one state into another.



Modern Mallet articulated locomotive

Once started in this idea, Congress proceeded to regulate the business of putting up salted or canned meats (1906); and in the same year passed a national "Pure Food and Drugs Act." In 1909 a tax was laid on corporations, large and small; in 1914 the "Clayton Act" against trusts was passed. Congress (1914) provided for a "Federal Trade Commission," which was to act toward ordinary corporations much as the Interstate Commerce Commission (§351) acted toward the railroads. A "Child Labor Act," passed in 1916, forbade the carrying of goods from state to state, if made by child labor under forbidden conditions.

372. Government Business. — Besides this regulation of business by the states and by the federal government, several lines of important business have been carried on at the expense of, and for the benefit of, the public. Among them are the following:

(1) Several cities, especially Detroit and Cleveland, tried to get control of the trolley lines within their limits and run them as a public service. This plan did not succeed,

but the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston built and owned long subways; and San Francisco built and ran municipal trolley lines.

(2) The states carried on workshops and farms in connection with their prisons, and several owned state forests. Some of them provided a public supply of vaccine to prevent smallpox, and of antitoxin to cure other diseases.

(3) The federal government carried on many kinds of business. It has two large printing houses in Washington. It keeps up factories of arms and military material at Springfield, Rock Island, and elsewhere. In its navy yards it builds and repairs war vessels. Ever since the Revolution, it has carried on a post-office business, and forbids any one else to carry sealed letters for profit. In 1913, it set up a parcel post in competition with the express companies. Recently it has provided a system of postal savings banks, all over the country. The government owns many ship canals, including the immense Panama Canal, and is also the sole owner of the Panama Railroad and a new railroad in Alaska.

(4) Many of the cities, towns, and villages carried on the business of furnishing water, gas, and electric light to all who chose to pay for those services, and also furnished electric power. A few cities have run public newspapers, milk stations, medical dispensaries, and even theaters.

At every presidential election since 1892, there has been a "Socialist" candidate, representing a body of people now numbering several millions, who would like to have the government take over all the business of the country — railroads, factories, stores, and everything else. No country in the world has ever carried out this idea. It would involve the breaking up of all private business, and the giving up of all private ownership in land. It would put into the hands of those who might be elected as heads of the government, the right to decide what should be the labor and the pay of every man and woman in the country. Mining, manufacturing, transportation, and even farming would be carried on by state officials. Every workman and workwoman would be on salary, and all the profits would go to the government

to be used for the common welfare. Quite distinct from the Socialists is a small body of "Anarchists," who denounce all government.

The sense of a close relation between government and business was shown by adding three new departments to the Cabinet. In 1889 a Secretary of Agriculture was appointed, in 1903 a Secretary of Commerce, and in 1913 a Secretary of Labor. The War of 1917 with Germany made it necessary for the United States to take control, for the time, of the railroads, coal industry, certain food supplies, merchant shipping, and other lines of business.

373. Summary. — This chapter describes the great resources of the country, the growth of powerful corporations called trusts, and the efforts to control them.

The United States has become one of the strongest nations in the world. This is due to the natural riches of the country, to the character of the people, and to new inventions. But some of these advantages were absorbed by a small number of shrewd and farseeing men. The conditions of the times made very rich men and wealthy families possible. Firms and companies were combined into large corporations.

The first attempt to regulate business corporations by act of Congress was the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890; then laws were passed for pure food and drugs. These were followed by the Clayton Antitrust Act, the Federal Trade Act, and the Child Labor Act.

Besides trying to control big business, the cities, the states, and the national government took over some kinds of business; and new commissions and officials were created to supervise and control business.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 366) 1. What were the main reasons for the prosperity of the country?
(§ 367) 2. What are the important modern inventions in machinery?
in transportation? 3. How did automobiles affect business and social life?

4 (For an essay). An automobile trip.

(§ 368) 5. How were pavements and roads improved? 6. What was the "good roads" movement? 7 (For an essay). Old-fashioned roads.

(§ 369) 8. How was the condition of the people improved by education?
9. How was it improved by attention to health? 10. How did Americans
compare with foreigners?

(§ 370) 11. What kind of people early became leaders? 12. How did
successful business men come to the front? 13. How did their leadership
in business help the small investor? 14 (For an essay). The business
career of Cornelius Vanderbilt or of James J. Hill. 15. How did great
corporations arise?

(§ 371) 16. What were monopolies and trusts? 17. Why did the states
find it hard to regulate the trusts? 18. What was the Sherman Antitrust
Act? 19. What other acts did Congress pass to regulate business?

(§ 372) 20 (For an essay). City-owned street railroads in Cleveland or
in Detroit or in San Francisco. 21. What kinds of business were carried
on by the states? by the federal government? by the cities? 22. What
was the Socialist idea of business and government? 23. How did the
federal government enlarge its control of business?

CHAPTER XXXV

THE PEOPLE'S LIFE (1900-1916)

374. Population and Cities. — The number of people in the United States grew rapidly. From about 4 million in 1790 it rose to about 100 million of "continental" population in 1916; besides nearly 10 million in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. Nearly a third of the continental population lived in the old South, and about a fourth lived west of the Mississippi River. More than 30 million out of the 100 million lived in cities.

Most of the great cities lay along the Atlantic coast, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, and the Pacific coast. These crowded centers brought many new problems for law-makers and officials. Millions of foreigners, many of whom could not speak English, had to be taken care of. The building of "sky-scraper" business blocks and office buildings brought much of the business into small areas in each city;



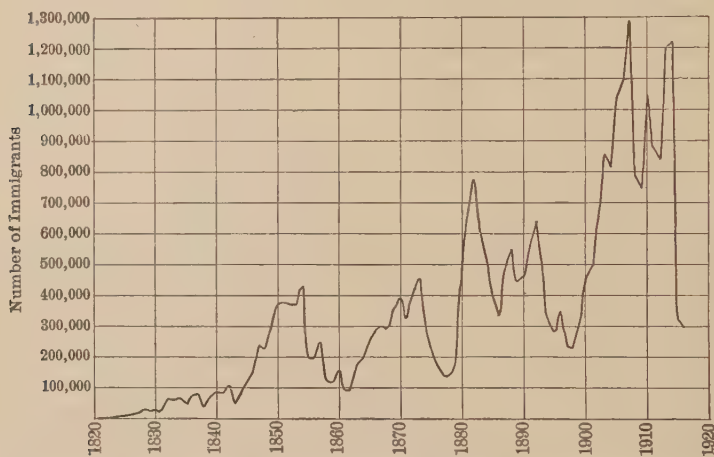
(c) *Detroit Pub. Co.*

"Sky-scraper" office buildings in lower New York

and hundreds of thousands of people had to be carried into and out of the business centers every day. Most cities had a crowded and unwholesome "slum" district, which needed regulation. The great numbers of children needed new

schools and playgrounds. Parks and boulevards were provided, and some cities began to tear down and rebuild on a better and more healthful plan.

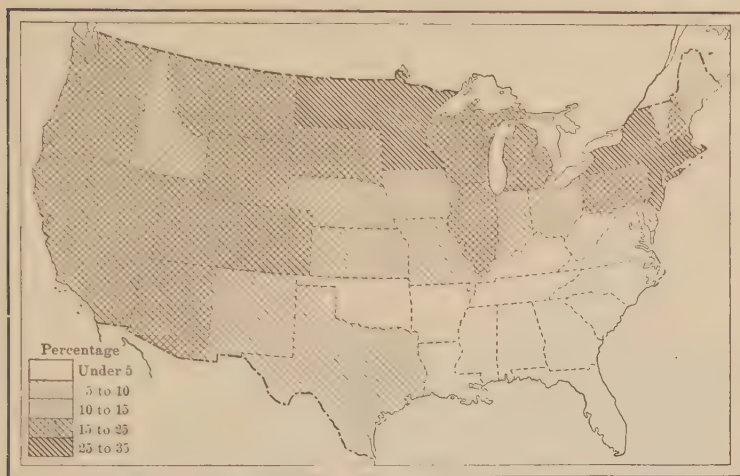
375. Native Born and Immigrants. — Notwithstanding the checks laid upon immigrants (§ 311) the number kept rising.



The distance of the curve from the base shows the number of immigrants entering the United States every year since 1820

In the twenty years from 1893 to 1913 they were 13,900,000. In this immense number were few of the English, Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians who had previously been the principal immigrants. The majority were now Italians, Portuguese, Hungarians, Croatians, Russian and Polish Jews, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Albanians, French Canadians, Mexicans, Greeks, and even Turks, Syrians, and Arabs.

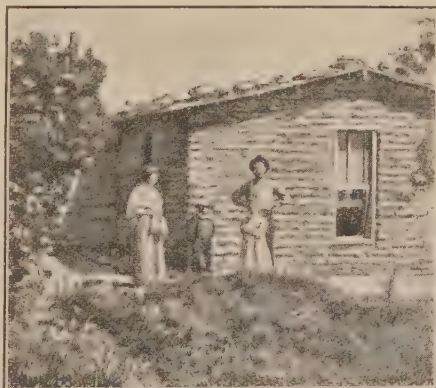
The effect of immigration was somewhat reduced by about 700,000 American farmers from the northwestern states, who crossed the border to take up Canadian wheat lands; and hundreds of thousands of Italians and others went back to Europe. During the Great War in Europe, also, immigration was small. The census of 1910 showed that out of 82 million white people in the continental United States, 13 million were foreign born and 19 million more were children of foreign-born parents; probably 18 million more were grandchildren of



This shows the distribution of immigrants in 1910. For example, they were between 10 and 15 per cent of the population in Ohio but less than 5 per cent of the population in Kentucky

foreign-born persons. Therefore, at least 50 million immigrants or children and grandchildren of immigrants were alive in the United States in 1910, against 32 million descended solely from the people, mainly English or English-speaking, who were in the country before the Revolution.

The immigrants were scattered all over the Union, though only one sixteenth of them were in the southern states. Although there were so many unskilled laborers seeking employment, most of them found work; and hundreds of thousands



Sod house of immigrant family on the prairie

were able to buy little homes and to become full-fledged Americans. The public schools proved to be a great aid in assimilating these people of many kinds.

Various attempts were made to shut out part of the immigrants. A small head tax was raised to \$3 for each immigrant (1917). Sick, helpless, and diseased people, even if they had only a slight trouble with the eyes, were sent back to Europe. In 1917 an act was passed over the veto of President Wilson which excluded all grown people who could not read some language.

376. Chinese and Japanese. — The census of 1910 showed 71,000 Chinese and 72,000 Japanese in our country. The Chinese, under the law excluding Chinese laborers (§ 312), were diminishing. Since there was no law against the immigration of Japanese, the people of the Pacific coast were afraid that great numbers would come over and form permanent settlements. In 1906 the school authorities of San Francisco for a time excluded all Japanese from schools for white children. The Japanese government, however, stopped the departure of laborers from Japan, without any formal agreement to that effect.

Later the state of California passed an act forbidding Japanese to acquire land (1913), an act which the Japanese government resented. Chinese and Japanese students and business men were welcomed, but there was strong objection to receiving Asiatics in large numbers. Doubtless there would be just such objections in Japan if scores of thousands of American laborers were to settle down there and compete with the native laborers.

377. Place of Women. — The first societies for women's rights began nearly a hundred years ago, and were intended to secure for women greater control of their own property and children. The next step was the better education of girls, in common schools, then in public high schools, then in most of the western colleges and universities (§ 248), and in some eastern ones. A special group of colleges, of which Vassar was the first, was founded for the separate college education of girls. "Coördinate colleges" were founded alongside Harvard, Columbia, Western Reserve, and some other men's universities.

Better education fitted women for new chances of business

and employment, and many became inspectors, clerks, stenographers, librarians, saleswomen, bookkeepers, and managers and owners of stores. Factories took from the home many of the old-fashioned industries, such as spinning, weaving, and making clothing. This set free great numbers of women who found employment in the textile mills and in



Original building of Wellesley College for women, erected in 1876

other lines of work not requiring great manual strength. A few women became lawyers, doctors, ministers, architects, journalists, and college professors. In some states, after 1869, women were given the right to vote on the same terms as men, beginning in the frontier states where women took a large part in the new settlements.

Education, votes, and employment for women all depended upon a growing belief that they had an important part in public and commercial life, and that they must take a new place in the work of making the United States great. Therefore women were chosen as managers of charitable societies, as presidents of women's colleges, as workers in social settlements; and in some states they became superintendents of city schools and of state school systems and even members of



Frances E. Willard

legislatures. Some of them, such as Frances E. Willard and Jane Addams, headed reform movements.

378. Labor.—No questions were more serious from 1890 to 1916 than those concerning labor. Employees felt that nothing but organizations of the workmen could resist combinations of the employers; so as fast as the trusts grew, labor unions also grew. Various attempts were made to

unite these workmen's organizations. The American Federation of Labor took in most of the skilled trades (§ 338). In the Rocky Mountain section the Western Federation of Miners controlled the local miners' unions in many regions. Special unions were formed to protect workers in the "sweat shop" industries, carried on in dwellings, at low wages and in poor conditions.

The rivalry between big interests and labor unions led to many violent strikes. In 1902 an informal commission was appointed, which successfully settled a strike of the coal miners in eastern Pennsylvania. Two years later the miners and the state authorities in Colorado came almost to civil war. Many strikes occurred among the employees of traction companies, and passengers who continued to use the cars were often badly handled. Some unions did their best to keep their members orderly; but the hoodlums of the cities made use of the excitement of strikes to fight, and resisted the police as well as the militia which were called out.

These organized efforts by laborers and their friends, together with other causes, brought about such important results as higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and weekly payments; state and national laws limiting child labor, requiring proper safeguards in the use of dangerous machinery, and providing for compensation to be paid for injuries or death of workmen, caused by their work.

379. Societies. — Societies of all kinds flourished in these prosperous times. The great secret orders grew (§ 200) and several new ones sprang up, such as the Elks, the Moose, and the Catholic order of the Knights of Columbus. Politicians founded societies and clubs of their friends and followers. Reform societies were established to spread information on such questions as child labor, the short ballot, and prison management. The descendants of soldiers of Colonial wars and the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War formed patriotic orders. It was an era of societies.

One of the most striking things at this time was the way in which the country took up the idea that people who had the same interests ought to join in national associations. Not only the labor men but the employers formed unions which met from time to time in mass meetings or in conventions of delegates, to decide upon their course of action. The ministers, doctors, engineers, and men and women of many other callings formed great national societies, some of which had thousands of members. Some of the fraternal orders counted more than a million members, including subordinate societies of women and young men. An example of the great national societies was the National Education Association which was started in 1857; in 1900 it had only 2500 members, but in 1915, the active paying membership was 7000 and the annual meetings were attended by as many as 13,000.

380. Education and Literature. — To supplement the older kinds of schools (§ 247), public evening schools and continuation schools were organized; free public libraries furnished reading matter for pupils and those who could not attend school. Some states like Wisconsin provided traveling libraries sent from community to community. The endowed and state universities nearly all added scientific schools or departments, which taught science, engineering, architecture, and like subjects, and opened their doors to women. The agricultural colleges provided classes in cattle feeding, butter making, stock judging, and the study of soils and seeds. The great expositions, such as those in Chicago in 1893, in St.

Louis in 1904, and in San Francisco in 1915, did much to educate the people. Education was thought to be no longer a matter simply of books and memory, but of training in practical things.



The "Tower of Jewels" and other buildings at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco

For the reading of the community, a new literature of cheap newspapers sprang up, containing a vast amount of information about the world. To the old-fashioned magazines were added ten cent and fifteen cent magazines full of pictures, and made to pay by a great number of advertisements.

A new feature of school and college life was organized athletics. The simple friendly games of baseball or football, or contests in rowing, gave way to elaborate uniforms and practice grounds and coaches, to prepare for games which were sometimes witnessed by 50,000 people. It was fun, it did some good to athletics, and it encouraged boys and girls to like outdoor life. Rowing, swimming, tennis, golf, basket ball, baseball, football, soccer — all took up too much of the pupils' time, but helped to make healthy bodies.

381. Summary. — This chapter deals with the social conditions and life of the people during the early part of the twentieth century.

The population of the United States rose by 1916 to over a hundred millions, nearly one third of them in cities. Immi-

grants were numerous, mostly from eastern Europe, and some efforts were made to reduce the annual number. The Chinese immigration was diminishing, the Japanese increasing. There was hostility to the Chinese and the Japanese on the Pacific coast.

Women were admitted to colleges and schools, and more and more employments were opened to them.

Labor organizations grew fast and secured for their members many benefits, such as higher wages, shorter hours, and improved methods of protecting life and health.

Social clubs and orders grew, and also literary and scientific societies. Education of every kind flourished. The schools were aided by libraries and special courses; and athletics interested school and college students.



The "Old Yale Fence" around the college campus. From a painting by A. C. Howland, N. A.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 374) 1. How was the population distributed in 1916? 2. How did the growth of population affect the cities?

(§ 375) 3. Of what races were the immigrants after 1890? 4. What emigration was there from the United States? 5 (For an essay). The different race elements in some one city. 6. What part of the population was not descended from English ancestors? 7. How did the immigrants find work? 8. How was immigration reduced? 9 (For an essay). A visit to an immigrant station.

(§ 376) 10. How did the Japanese and Chinese come in? 11 (For an essay). A Chinese quarter in some city. 12. How were the Japanese and Chinese received?

(§ 377) 13. How did the women get higher education? 14 (For an essay). Life in a woman's college. 15. What new occupations were opened to women? 16. How did women come to be leaders in public affairs?

(§ 378) 17. How did the labor organizations prosper? 18. How were strikes carried on? 19 (For an essay). A strike in some city. 20. What improvements were made in labor conditions?

(§ 379) 21. How did societies and fraternities spring up? 22. How were national organizations formed?

(§ 380) 23. What aids to public education were provided? 24. What cheap reading matter arose? 25. How did organized athletics come about? 26 (For an essay). Early baseball.

CHAPTER XXXVI

NEW PROBLEMS FOR AMERICANS TO SOLVE (1890-1916)

382. States and Territories. — The rapid growth of population spread to the far West, and between 1896 and 1912 four new states were admitted to the Union, as follows:

(1) Utah was admitted in 1896 (45th state) with a constitution which forever forbade polygamy. The population was 240,000. Utah had many valuable mines and some fruitful land; and it was the first state to make large use of irrigation.

(2) The two adjoining territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory were in 1907 combined and admitted as Oklahoma (the 46th state) with about 1,000,000 inhabitants. This was a rich region, abounding in timber, coal, and oil, and fertile for raising wheat, corn, fruit, tobacco, and cotton. When the lands there were first opened for settlement, beginning in 1889, there was a helter-skelter rush from the border, and the territory filled up fast. The 150,000 Indians gave up their tribal rights and lands (1910-1914); thus they became citizens and formed the first large body of Indian voters.

(3) New Mexico had been a territory ever since 1850 (§ 240). A large portion of the people were of Mexican blood. Part of the territory was desert, but there were rich mines and some good land, especially for cattle raising. New Mexico was admitted in 1912, as the 47th state, with about 300,000 people.

(4) Arizona, a mining and cattle-ranching territory, had less available land than New Mexico, either for raising crops or for cattle. There were no large rivers in the state, except the Colorado, which is not much used for irrigation, but the Grand Canyon of the Colorado is one of the most magnificent places on earth (§§ 1, 304). The dry and bracing

climate of the state makes it a resort for those who need and love open-air life. The population when the state was admitted in 1912 was about 200,000.

With the admission of Arizona as the 48th state the last of the territories disappeared from the so-called "continental area" of the United States; but the Hawaiian Islands were a territory; Porto Rico was a kind of territory; and Alaska was made a regular territory with a legislature in 1912. This immense region with its 591,000 square miles had then only about 64,000 people. By that time the placer gold in the mountain streams was about all taken, but very rich deep gold mines had been opened. Along the southern coast of the territory, copper and valuable coal mines were discovered. Should the mines develop as is expected, Alaska will sometime probably become a state in the Union. Next in value to the mines were the coast and river fisheries.

383. Conservation (1900-1916). — In the discussions on the admission of new states and the management of Alaska the question was raised whether the United States was doing the best thing for the interests of the country by turning over to private owners such quantities of public land. From the earliest colonial days it was the theory that the buyer of land owned all the timber that grew on it, all the minerals, oil, and gas below the soil, and all the water power in the streams. By 1910 the government had given away or sold nearly all the good farming or cattle land, but it still held immense areas of mountains and deserts in which there were gold, silver, coal, oil, and other minerals, some timber, and many magnificent water powers.

About 1900 a movement began called "conservation," the purpose of which was to prevent the government from turning over these valuable things in the former reckless fashion. The conservationists demanded that such lands should be reserved; or if they were sold, the buyer should pay a price that would cover the special advantages.

(1) In the western mountain districts the rivers were liable to floods in winter and spring, and some of them ran almost dry in summer. Why not build reservoirs, and distribute the

water through irrigation canals to lands that otherwise could not be tilled? This idea was taken up by Congress in the Newlands Act (1902), which provided that all the proceeds from sales of lands in the western states might be applied to building reservoirs and canals. In the next thirteen years about \$100,000,000 was thus expended. Land thus supplied with unfailing water sold as high as \$40 an acre.

(2) Reservations of areas containing magnificent scenery began as early as 1872; among them were such areas as the Yosemite and Yellowstone parks, the Big Trees of California, Pyramid Lake, Mount Rainier, and Glacier Park.

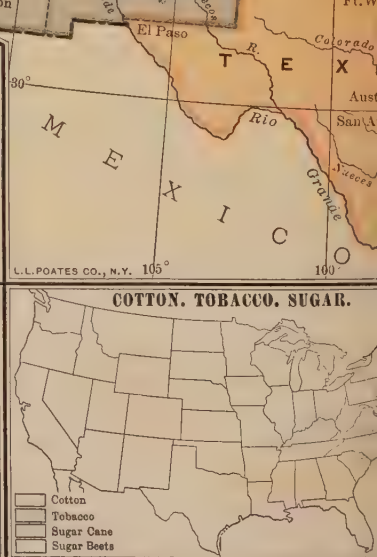
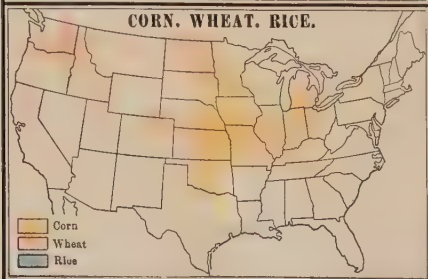
(3) Fearful waste had taken place in the forests. The government laid a price of \$10 an acre on lands that had been specially called timber land; but private parties often stole the timber from government lands. To stop the waste, the government began (1891) to reserve national forests which were extended till they covered an area larger than Texas.

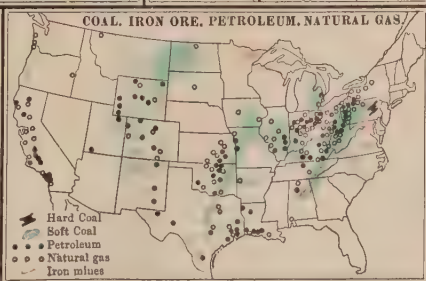
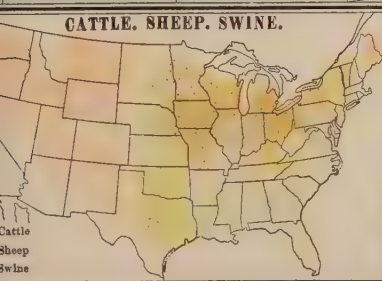
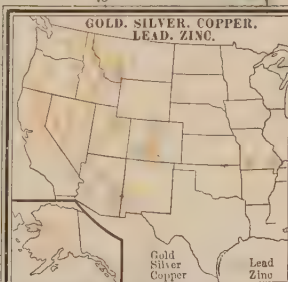


(c) Underwood & Underwood
Cutting down a giant Sequoia tree, California

(4) Coal lands were also supposed to be reserved, but were often bought as farm land. In 1910 Congress decided that the coal, oil, and gas beneath any lands sold thenceforth should remain the property of the government when land was sold.

(5) Water powers in the mountains were not valuable till the invention of a method for carrying electric power long distances by wires. Then investors began to buy up falls and rapids wherever they could be found. The federal government, the state of New York, and the Dominion of Canada together arranged for taking part of the water from Niagara





Falls for power. A dam was built at Keokuk on the Mississippi River; the fall was only a few feet but the great quantity of water made it valuable. Congress finally (1916) adopted the principle that it would not sell or grant the water powers that were then on public lands, but would lease such powers to private users for terms not longer than fifty years.

The real reason for conservation was that the American people had waked up to the fact that the nation owned property and privileges worth thousands of millions and that they ought to be saved for the people then living and for later generations, and not turned over to make a comparatively small number of people rich.

384. Ballot Reform (1890-1916). — This desire to give the good things to all the people and not to a few made itself felt also in politics and parties. There was a feeling that somehow the people did not have their own way, that the voting system was clumsy and lent itself to fraud, that parties were managed by a few persons, and that the voters had to accept the candidates and the platforms set up for them by others.

Down to 1890, in all American elections tickets were printed and distributed by the parties, and men were employed as ticket peddlers at the polls. Crowds gathered about the ballot boxes and sometimes honest voters were not allowed to approach. To reform this great abuse the so-called "Australian ballot" system was devised by which the tickets for each election—usually all on one big ballot—were printed by authority of the state government for each election. This ballot contained the names of all the people who had been nominated for office by all parties, and the voter marked upon it with a pencil cross the candidates or the ticket for which he wished to vote. None but the officials, and the voters while casting their votes, were to remain near the polls. New efforts were made to shut out fraudulent voters who might try to vote on the names of the real voters.

Both the old ballot and the Australian ballot contained too many names. In some states there are thirty or forty officers to be voted on at each election. To meet this difficulty a reform was pushed called the "short ballot," which simply

meant that the states and cities ought to put a very small number of officers before the people at each election; and that the other officers ought to be appointed by the governor or mayor. This, it was thought, would bring out stronger candidates, for all parties would try to put up their strongest men, and men who were known throughout the state or city.

385. Changes in the Suffrage (1869-1916). — The question of the ballot was closely connected with the question, who may cast a ballot. In the United States most of the states allowed "manhood suffrage"; that is, any man could vote if he were a citizen of the United States, were twenty-one years old, and were not criminal or insane. A few states allowed no one to vote who could not read and write; and a few others required the payment of a small tax. Then, after 1890, seven of the southern states adopted new qualifications intended to prevent many of the negroes from voting. Whenever foreign men were naturalized, they enjoyed the suffrage on the same terms as native born citizens; and if their state had no educational qualifications, they might vote, though they could not speak a word of English.

A part of the early movement for women's rights (§ 377) was a demand for "Votes for Women," which had been going on for half a century. In 1869, woman suffrage was granted by Wyoming, which had a small population, containing more men than women. Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, New York, and the territory of Alaska followed. So that in 1918 women could vote on the same terms as men in twelve states and one territory, out of forty-eight states and two territories. In addition, in Illinois and several other states, women were given the right to vote for presidential electors and for some state and local officers. In many other states women exercised the right to vote for school officers or in local and city affairs.

In states where women could vote on the same terms as men, they could also be elected to the legislatures and to other offices. Many women were made superintendents of county, city, or state schools by election. In some states they sat on juries. A woman member of Congress was

elected from Montana in 1916. Woman suffrage made little difference with the relative strength of the political parties, but it put a pressure on state governments to make reforms that women believed to be needed.

386. Commission Government for Cities. — The principle of the short ballot applied also in commission governments for

cities. In 1910 nearly a third of the people of the United States were living in cities or towns, and hardly a single one of those governments was as well managed as most private corporations.

The cities laid out broad streets, parks, and boulevards, put up magnificent buildings and bridges, spent large sums for lighting, sewerage, police, fire protection, and schools, yet used poor and wasteful methods. The city of New York raised and spent about one fifth as much as the national government, and still had dirty streets. The main trouble was that the city governments were clumsy and often fell into the hands of politicians



Metropolitan Tower, an office building in New York

who had not the ability or the public spirit to carry on such immense affairs. Most of the cities were tangled up in a complicated form of government. They had too many councilmen, too many aldermen, too many separate departments, such as streets, fire, police, or public property. The cities spent too much money and gave the public too little in return for their taxes.

How could the municipal power be made more simple and direct? In 1900 the people of Galveston, Texas, in order to restore their city after a fearful storm, asked the state to give them a commission of five men who should vote all the city ordinances, manage all the city departments, lay all the city taxes, spend all the city money, and appoint all the other city officers. This "commission government" worked so well that the idea rapidly spread. Within fifteen years it was in operation in about 400 cities in all parts of the Union. By this method, if anything went wrong, the failure came right home to the commissioners.



The wreckage, after a fearful storm, at Galveston, Texas

387. Nominating Conventions and Primary Elections. — Long experience showed that it was almost impossible to elect any one to office who was not nominated beforehand by some party. Whoever could control the party nominations could therefore decide who should come before the voters. The usual way of nominating was by conventions of delegates; and shrewd party managers often controlled such delegates.

To meet this difficulty a system called the "direct primary" was introduced, by which the voters belonging to a particular party voted directly for one or another candidate for nomination. This took place at an election carried on under state laws, and the men who received the most votes in the primary of any particular party would be placed on the ballot as the candidate of that party at the regular election. This new method rapidly spread to nominations of members of the legislature, and other state-elected officers, to Congressmen and even to Senators; and it has been suggested for the nomination of Presidents.

Notwithstanding the wide use of the primary, it did not work perfectly. Obscure men often pushed themselves forward, especially for the small offices. The most serious difficulty was that only a part of the voters, sometimes less than one fourth, would take the trouble to go to the primary election; though a good number would turn up at the regular election.

Where the state governments made up an official ballot, some state official had to decide what candidate was nominated by each party, and that brought the parties and their organization under some control by the state. The parties were all managed by national, state, city, county, ward, or township political committees, which in most cases practically elected themselves.

Above and behind the committees were the party leaders, often called "bosses." Some of them held office for a time as members of city councils, mayors, members of legislatures, governors, or members of Congress. Others, and some of the most important, never held any office. They managed elections, raised money, distributed offices, and decided who should be put on the party tickets for election.

Some bosses were public-spirited men who aimed only to bring out the vote and keep their party on the safe side, for no popular government can be kept going in a big country like ours without parties and political organization. Other bosses, however, were corrupt leaders who were chiefly concerned with making money out of politics.

388. Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. — The boss system extended to the legislatures and city councils.

Under the influence of bosses, legislatures sometimes passed bills which their constituents did not like, or refused to pass bills for which there was a strong public desire. There was, however, a well-known way in which certain laws could be passed over the heads of the legislators; the people could vote on adopting constitutions which had been framed by a convention and had never been passed on by legislatures (§ 110). Why not apply the same method to ordinary laws?

This system, which was commonly called the "referendum," had been used in some foreign countries, and also for some state laws; for instance, in votes on "local option" — the question of allowing the sale of liquor in a given city or district. Beginning with South Dakota in 1898, the states began to provide by their constitutions that an act passed by the legislature must be voted on at a popular election before it went into effect, if a sufficient number of voters demanded that it be so submitted. This was called "compulsory referendum."

What could be done in case a legislature refused to take action which the people wished? To meet this case the "initiative" was suggested; that is, an informal group of citizens, usually five or ten per cent of the voters, might join in proposing what they thought a proper law or constitutional amendment. At the next election the people would have an opportunity to vote for or against it, without its going through the legislature at all. In 1915 nineteen states had introduced the referendum and eighteen had added the initiative. A difficulty in using the initiative and referendum was that voters would not turn out in large numbers for a special election; and if the propositions were to be voted on at a regular election, thousands of men would vote for President, governor, and mayor, but would neglect to express an opinion upon the referendum on laws or constitutional amendments.

The initiative and the referendum were expected to secure for the people the laws that they wanted. Could the same principle be applied to an elective official who neglected his duty or defied the laws? One way was to refuse to reelect such officials; their terms were short, and they would soon come to the end of their service. In some states a quicker method was found in the "recall"; by this plan such officials might be obliged at any time to submit to a special election, which decided whether somebody else should take their places. The recall was first applied to holders of small offices, then to mayors of cities in Washington and California. Up to 1916 the recall had never been used against governors or other high executive officers, although such use is possible

in several states. In a few states the system also applied to judges.

389. The Hague Conferences. — During this period the United States took an important part in promoting peace and strengthening international law. The first Hague Conference, attended by representatives of twenty-six nations in 1899, set up a tribunal to which any two nations could refer a dispute for peaceful settlement. A second Conference in 1907 drew up conventions or treaties which were ratified by all the great powers and most of the smaller nations, encouraging arbitration and adopting definite rules to prevent or mitigate the worst horrors of warfare. Friends of peace the world over hoped that later Conferences would succeed in organizing a world league of nations that would end war altogether.

390. Summary. — This chapter describes new problems in the public welfare and in political methods, and the novel methods of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

Between 1896 and 1912 the four remaining territories in the main part of the United States — Utah, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona — all became states. Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, and Porto Rico became territories. In the West there was a movement for conservation: this meant the holding by the government of timber and coal lands, and sites for water powers and irrigation works.

Political methods were altered by the Australian ballot and short-ballot systems; the suffrage in many states was extended to women. Commission governments were set up for many cities. In politics the direct primary took the place of the convention in many states. This was one of several measures intended to cut down the power of political bosses.

Another method was to introduce the initiative, or popular vote on laws that had not gone to the legislature; and the referendum, or popular vote on measures that had passed the legislature. Several states provided for the recall of public officers.

In international politics the United States favored arbitration in place of war, and it took part in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 382) 1. How was Utah admitted to the Union? 2 (For an essay). A visit to Salt Lake City. 3. How was Oklahoma admitted? 4 (For an essay). A visit to Oklahoma. 5. How was New Mexico admitted? 6. How was Arizona admitted? 7 (For an essay). A visit to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. 8. How were the new territories organized? 9 (For an essay). A visit to Honolulu.

(§ 383) 10. To whom did minerals, water power, etc., belong? 11. What is "conservation"? 12. How was irrigation provided? 13. What were the reservations of scenery? 14 (For an essay). A visit to Glacier National Park. 15. How were coal, oil, and gas reserved? 16. How was water power reserved?

(§ 384) 17. Why were people dissatisfied with politics? 18. What was the "Australian ballot" reform? 19. What was the "short-ballot" reform?

(§ 385) 20. What were the conditions of suffrage? 21. How did woman suffrage come about? 22. What offices could women hold?

(§ 386) 23. How were cities governed? 24. What were the difficulties of city government? 25. What was "commission government"?

(§ 387) 26. What were the difficulties of nominations to office? 27. What was the "direct primary"? 28 (For an essay). An old-fashioned nominating convention. 29. What were the defects of the primary? 30. How were parties connected with the governments? 31. What were "bosses"?

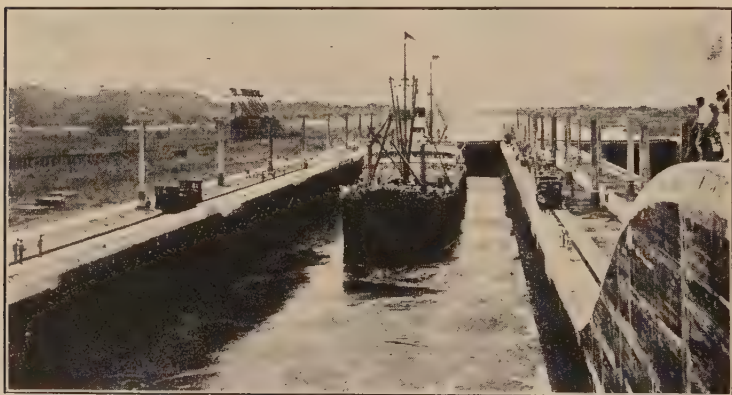
(§ 388) 32. What was the "referendum"? 33. What was the "compulsory referendum"? 34. What was the "initiative"? 35. How did the initiative and referendum progress? 36. What was the "recall"?

(§ 389) 37. What was accomplished by the Hague Conferences? 38. (For an essay). The Hague conventions.

CHAPTER XXXVII

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (1905-1917)

391. President Roosevelt (1905-1909). — With the beginning of Roosevelt's second term in 1905 came a period of great changes in government and politics. No previous President had shown such an interest in individuals, talked so freely about his policies, traveled so widely, and made so many speeches. The President felt that he had a majority of the people behind him, and he took up the idea that the federal government must further regulate the trusts and monopolies and keep "big business" in order.



Steamer passing through the Gatun Locks, in the Panama Canal. The ship is towed by electric engines on the tracks at each side

He was also active in foreign affairs, whether in Europe, Asia, or America. In 1905, when a fierce war was going on between the Russians and the Japanese in Manchuria, which was a part of China, he arranged for a conference between envoys of the two hostile powers at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and they made a peace acceptable to both parties.

President Roosevelt was also much interested in South American and Central American affairs. In 1902 and 1906 delegates were sent to Pan-American Congresses at Mexico and Rio de Janeiro. Secretary Hay (§§ 355, 362) died in 1905, and his successor, Elihu Root, made a brilliant Secretary of State and was warmly received by the South Americans.

The President and his successor, President Taft, were especially interested in the work on the Panama Canal. The work was finally placed under the engineering management of Major Goethals of the United States Army, and he soon "made the dirt fly." The health of the employees was cared for by Colonel Gorgas, who showed great skill in saving the workmen from malaria and yellow fever, the two deadly foes of man in the tropics. In 1912 Congress began to construct the necessary forts to protect the canal. In 1914 the canal was opened for traffic, having cost the United States about \$400,000,000. It was one of the largest and best engineering works in the world and was designed to serve an immense commerce.



William Howard Taft

392. President Taft (1909-1913). — As the election of 1908 approached, President Roosevelt declined to consider the suggestion made by some of his friends that he should stand for a third term; and he put forward as his candidate William H. Taft of Ohio, who was nominated without difficulty by the Republicans. Bryan, who by this time was convinced that free silver was not necessary, was for a third time the Demo-

cratic candidate and gained several states for the Democrats which Parker did not carry in 1904. Taft, however, was elected by a plurality of a million and a quarter votes.

The new President was well trained for his high office. He had been a United States judge, governor-general of the Philippine Islands, and Secretary of War under Roosevelt. He was a genial, broad-minded man, who liked to go about the country and meet the people. Throughout his administration he did his best to regulate the railroads and to prosecute the trusts (§ 371), but he was against his will drawn into a controversy about the tariff.

Some of the members of Congress from the strong Republican states of the Northwest, especially Minnesota, had for years been urging a lower rate of duty; and there was a widespread feeling that the protected interests had been too influential in the framing of the McKinley tariff of 1890 and the Dingley tariff of 1897 (§ 350), which was then in force.

The Republican majority in Congress therefore passed the Payne-Aldrich tariff (1909), named for the chairmen of the House and Senate committees that framed it. Their bill decreased some duties, but raised others, especially those on cotton goods. Some of the discontented Republicans voted against the bill, and President Taft hesitated to sign it. Finally he accepted it, and afterwards in public speeches said it was the best tariff that the country ever had. Protection thus became again an issue between the two great parties.

393. Insurgents and Progressives (1909-1912).—The low-tariff Republicans, with a few other discontented Republicans, were called "Insurgents," and the regular Republicans were called "Standpatters." From 1910 to 1912 the Insurgent Republicans called themselves "Progressive Republicans" and carried several states, especially Minnesota and California. In 1911 "Colonel Roosevelt," as the ex-President was usually called, joined this movement.

When the presidential campaign of 1912 came on, the Standpat Republicans supported the renomination of President Taft, and the Progressive Republicans organized in support of Roosevelt. The result was that in the Republican nominating



Capitol at Washington, the meeting place of Congress

convention in Chicago there were two wings contending with each other to get the majority of the convention for their candidate. From several states two rival delegations appeared. Taft was nominated. The Roosevelt delegates in the convention and others organized a new Progressive party, held a separate convention, and nominated Roosevelt on a platform supporting many radical measures.

The Democratic convention was much under the influence of William J. Bryan; and it nominated Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey.

A whirlwind campaign followed, much like that of 1840 (§ 232). The main questions were the tariff, the doctrines of the Progressives, the characters of the three candidates, and the question whether Roosevelt ought to have a third term as President. The result was the choice of Wilson, who received 6,300,000 votes and carried forty out of the forty-eight states; and the Democrats obtained control of both Houses of Congress. Roosevelt had 4,100,000 votes; Taft, 3,500,000; and Debs, the Socialist candidate, 900,000.

394. President Wilson. — Woodrow Wilson was the first President since Andrew Johnson who had been born in the South; but he had spent most of his life in the northern states. After holding professorships in several colleges, he became president of Princeton University. In 1911 he was elected as a Democratic reform governor of New Jersey, and

made such an impression on that doubtful state that he was put forward for the presidency. He was a strong and persuasive writer and speaker on politics, and had a reputation



Woodrow Wilson

for courage and decision. In the campaign of 1912 he used the phrase the "new freedom," by which he meant government by the people and vigor in dealing with powerful corporations; and he shared the general dislike of the Democratic party for the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909.

The President's general political views were held by William J. Bryan, who was made the Secretary of State. Mr. Bryan had taken no previous official part in the

national government except four years as a member of the House from Nebraska. He had, however, three times been the candidate of his party for the presidency (§§ 353, 361, 392) and had large influence throughout the country and within the party. In 1915 he resigned his place in the Cabinet and was succeeded by Robert Lansing.

395. Tariff and Income Tax (1913). — Congress was called in special session to revise the tariff; and under the leadership of Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and leader of the Democrats in the

House, the Democrats framed a bill which considerably lowered the duties. President Wilson revived the method of making speeches direct to the members of the two Houses (§ 150). His influence was great enough to turn the scale and the Underwood tariff was passed (1913) with a decidedly lower scale of duties.

A Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted (1913), giving Congress full power to lay an income tax. Consequently, to the Underwood tariff was added a tax on all incomes in excess of \$3000 (\$4000 for husband and wife) with higher rates for very large incomes.

Another long-pending change was included in the Seventeenth Amendment (adopted 1913), which required that the United States Senators should thereafter be chosen by direct popular vote instead of by the legislatures.

396. Federal Reserve System and Trade Commission (1907-1914). — For some years the country had realized that the banking system and bank notes of 1862 (§ 284) no longer met the needs of the country, and leading Senators and Representatives prepared a bill for a more flexible plan.

This idea was taken up by the Democratic Congress. Under the leadership of President Wilson it created an elaborate Reserve System (1913) by which the national banks were organized into groups, the whole governed by a central banking board appointed by the President. The new system was intended to aid small borrowers, especially in the country, and to enable the banks to help each other in time of need.

The country, as well as the Democratic party itself, was divided as to whether there was need of any further laws to regulate the trusts. The railroads were under the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 (§ 371). All corporations which did an interstate business were paying taxes to the government and had to carry on business under the Sherman Act. Nobody knew just what that act meant, and President Wilson led the Democrats in passing the act for a Trade Commission (§ 371), which was to have power to investigate corporations that were suspected of being trusts and to prevent their getting monopolies of busi-

ness. This act closed for the time being a long series of federal laws beginning with the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887. It was followed in 1916 by the Child Labor Act (§ 371). Altogether about twenty different statutes had been passed for the better control of trusts of various kinds.

397. The Philippines. — Another troublesome question was what to do with the Philippine Islands. Many of the Democrats had opposed their being acquired in 1898 (§ 361); and many Republican statesmen, including President Taft, felt that they ought not to be held indefinitely by the United States.

From the first the Filipinos wanted to be independent. They settled down under the insular government because they could not help themselves. That government turned out to be very efficient. It built schools and roads, improved the harbor of Manila, opened up steamer lines, and helped the people to sell their products. But the government was carried on by white people from the United States who had not the slightest idea of spending their lives in the islands. Hardly any business men, farmers, or workmen went over to make their homes in that country.

In 1907 when the Filipinos were first allowed to elect members to an assembly, it was found that practically every member of that assembly was in favor of independence. They thought they could grow into a country like the empire of Japan. When Wilson became President he adopted the policy of giving the Filipinos a larger share in their own government, so that they might show how far they were likely to govern themselves well.

398. Mexico (1910-1916). — Among the Latin American neighbors of the United States, Mexico was thought to be one of the richest and most promising. The country included large stretches of good land for farming; the climate of the high table land on which the city of Mexico is situated was healthful and bracing. There were rich silver mines in various parts of the country, vast oil wells, good ports on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and a population of 15,000,000.

Mexico, therefore, attracted business men with money from Europe and the United States, who built railroads, opened



A sugar plantations in the Philippines

mines, set up factories, built oil refineries, and carried on a large business. It was a great shock to the foreign residents when a revolution broke out in Mexico in 1910. President Diaz, who had kept up his power for 32 years, partly by silencing his enemies (§ 352), was driven out, and Madero became president. A second revolution broke out and Madero was seized and imprisoned by his subordinate, General Huerta (1913), who made himself dictator; and Madero was soon after found dead.



Landing United States troops at Vera Cruz, Mexico, 1914

President Wilson declined to recognize Huerta as president, and a third revolution broke out in northern Mexico, under Carranza and Villa. The United States, as a protection to American citizens and interests, landed a few troops at Vera Cruz (1914). Huerta resigned; and our troops were withdrawn after about seven months. Meanwhile the revolutionary leaders quarreled over the presidency and fell to fighting each other, ravaging their unhappy country which had seen no peace for years. Carranza gained the upper hand, and at last the United States, in agreement with the A. B. C. powers (§ 352), recognized him as chief executive (1915). Early in 1916 Villa attacked a town on the north side of the boundary, and an American military expedition under General Pershing was sent into Mexico in pursuit. Carranza protested that he could curb Villa without assistance, and the American force was withdrawn early in 1917.

399. Summary. - This chapter describes the action of political parties and administrations from 1905 to 1917.

The second administration of Roosevelt and that of his successor Taft were devoted in good part to new laws on trusts and railroads. In 1912, Roosevelt headed the Progressive party in the presidential election. Among three candidates, Woodrow Wilson was elected by the Democrats.

President Wilson urged, and the Democrats enacted, a new tariff, an income tax, a federal reserve banking system, and a trade commission. Two amendments were added to the Constitution. Mexico went through a series of bloody revolutions.

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QUESTIONS

(§ 391) 1. How did Roosevelt regard the duties of the President? 2. How was the Panama Canal constructed? 3 (For an essay). Roosevelt in the White House.

(§ 392) 4. How did the election of 1908 come out? 5. What kind of President was Taft?

(§ 393) 6. Who were the "Insurgents"? the "Standpatters"? the "Progressive Republicans"? 7. How did the election of 1912 come out? 8 (For an essay). The Republican or the Progressive or the Democratic National Convention in 1912.

(§ 394) 9 (For an essay). Wilson in the White House. 10. What part did Bryan play in politics?

(§ 395) 11. What was the Underwood tariff? 12. What was the Sixteenth Amendment? the Seventeenth?

(§ 396) 13. What is the Reserve Bank System? 14. What is the Trade Commission?

(§ 397) 15. How were the Philippines improved?

(§ 398) 16 (For an essay). A visit to Mexico. 17. How did the Mexican revolution come about? 18. How did the United States act?

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR (1914-1920)

400. The World War and Neutrality. — In August, 1914, a terrible war broke out in Europe between the "Central Powers" of Germany and Austria on one side, and what was called the "Triple Entente" of Great Britain, France, and Russia on the other side. Several small European powers joined the Triple Entente, now commonly known as the "Allies," and Turkey joined the Central Powers. The next



A trench

year Bulgaria also came in on that side, making a belt of four nations which reached from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. Japan and Italy threw in their lot with the Allies.

A few hours after the outbreak of war, the Germans invaded Belgium, contrary to solemn promises and treaties. This treachery enabled

them to push into France and almost to take Paris, but they were driven back by the French and British in the great battle of the Marne; and during almost all the rest of the war they occupied a fortified trench line running through western Belgium and northeastern France, from the sea to Switzerland.

The attack on Belgium and the frightful treatment of Belgian and French men, women, and children by German soldiers, often under orders from their officers, shocked the American people; but the war was very distant and few realized at first how it threatened the security of the United

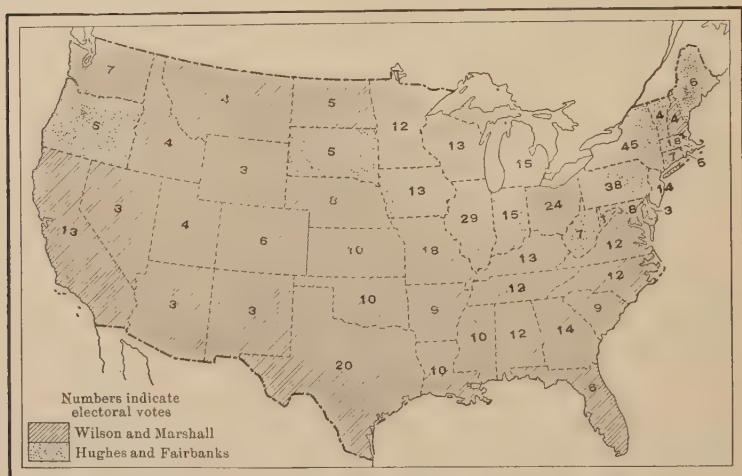
States. Hence this country claimed the rights of neutrals as they had been asserted during the Napoleonic wars (§ 163). American trade at first continued with both groups of fighting powers; but the British quickly secured command of the seas, and made it impossible to ship materials of war to Germany and Austria.

The Germans before the war sent a band of secret agents to the United States to work up sympathy and to organize the German-Americans. They now loudly objected to our munition trade with the Allies, although the great German Krupp factory had for years been selling immense quantities of munitions wherever there was war. Not content with protests, the German and Austrian ambassadors, consuls, and secret agents worked together in a campaign of destruction of factories, ships, and American lives, which was virtually a war on the United States.

Great Britain now laid down new and strict rules of "contraband" and "blockade," by which copper, rubber, petroleum, and many other goods were made contraband and cargoes intended for Germany were seized. The Germans on their side declared that all the seas around England were "a zone of war," in which they would capture either Allied or neutral ships. The only German vessels that could safely keep the seas were submarines which, contrary to right and mercy, sank many ships without giving the peaceful passengers and crews a chance to save their lives. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine without any warning sank the great British steamer *Lusitania*, and thus took the lives of more than a thousand men, women, and children, including 114 Americans. This was very near an act of war; and the government at Washington protested against such sinkings till Germany reluctantly promised to sink no more passenger ships without giving the people on board a chance to escape.

401. Politics and Parties (1914-1917). — After 1912 (§ 393), the Progressives lost votes, and by 1916 most of them had gone back to the Republican party. In June, 1916, a Progressive convention was held, to try to influence the Republicans to nominate Roosevelt; but the Republican

convention chose Charles E. Hughes, justice of the Supreme Court and former governor of New York. The Democrats renominated Woodrow Wilson. The principal issue before the country was which of the two candidates would make the stronger President. One of the party cries in favor of Wilson was "He kept us out of war!" The election was the closest for many years, but the returns finally showed that President Wilson was elected by 276 electoral votes against 255 for



How the states voted in the presidential election of 1916

Hughes; Wilson's popular plurality was about 600,000. As may be seen by the map, most of the Wilson vote came from the South and the West.

The immense demand for food, machinery, and munitions to be sent over seas caused a great demand for labor, both of men and of women. Our exports rose to more than double the usual figures. The whole country felt rich. This proved to be a favorable time for the purchase from Denmark of her part of the Virgin Islands in the West Indies. There seemed some danger that otherwise Germany might annex them; therefore our government stepped in and paid 25 million dollars for the islands, including the good harbor of St. Thomas.

402. Reasons for War by the United States. Gradually the dangers of German domination were brought home to the people of the United States. The great Red Cross Society helped England and France to save the Belgians from the threatened starvation into which the Germans plunged them by taking away their food and their industries; and an American, Herbert C. Hoover, superintended the distribution of food and other supplies to these people, thousands of whom, both men and women, were compelled to perform for the Germans a forced labor which was little short of slavery.

In 1915 the Germans conquered Russian Poland, and in 1916 Roumania, which had had the spirit to join the Allies. Throughout the war the Germans continued their savage warfare on land. Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, and parts of Russia were trodden down just like Belgium and northern France. Great numbers of innocent noncombatants were starved to death or driven from their homes to perish of cold. The Turks, acting on an understanding with the German officials in Turkey, deliberately massacred a million Armenians and Syrians, whose only fault was that they hoped for freedom through the Allies. The German nation seemed determined to sweep from their path any people who stood in the way of their desire for territory and power.

On the last day of January, 1917, Germany announced that ruthless submarine warfare would at once be resumed



American submarine at the surface

against any ships bound to or from Allied ports. Within a short time eight more American ships were sunk. The Germans were sure that the Americans would not make war, or that if they did come in they were too fond of money to fight hard.

The German emperor had already told the American ambassador Gerard: "The United States had better look out. I will stand no nonsense from the United States after this war." The Germans were terribly disappointed because most of the German-Americans remained loyal to the country which they had sought in order to get away from Germany. The German government tried to raise the Mexicans against us. Any one could see that if autocratic Germany should overwhelm democratic England and France, the United States would be the next to suffer, and would be without any powerful allies or friends.

The American love for peace could hold out no longer. April 2, 1917, President Wilson pointed out to Congress that there was no honorable way out of war; and on April 6 a resolution of Congress declared that Germany had brought on war with this country.

403. Preparing for the Fray (1917). — While the United States was thus making up its mind that war was necessary for the safety of the world and the safety of democracy, few steps had been taken to prepare for the kind of war that was now being fought. In April, 1917, the United States had not in service a single war aeroplane, or "tank" (armed tractor), or heavy field gun, or gas projector, or mine thrower, or depth bomb. Hardly an officer or soldier had actually seen modern fighting in the trenches, or the modern chase of submarines. The moment we were engaged in war, those deficiencies had to be made good. Party lines were forgotten; Democrats and Republicans, employers and laborers alike supported the measures rapidly prepared by the executive departments, and pressed before Congress by the President.

Among them were draft acts for raising large armies; an Espionage Act (June 15, 1917), which included large powers over foreign trade; a Food Act (August 10), under which



Airplanes in France; the large one is for bombing, the small one for fighting

the Food Administrator Herbert C. Hoover issued orders limiting the consumption of foodstuffs. In order to stimulate wheat growing, a minimum price for wheat was fixed at \$2, and subsequently at \$2.25 per bushel, and immense crops were raised. The act also included the right to fix the prices and distribution of coal, and if necessary to operate the mines. So much coal was needed for steamers and other government purposes, that the supply for general manufactures, railroads, and private buildings had to be cut down and there was much suffering during the hard winter of 1917-1918. Congress authorized the President to take possession of the railroads, which was done by an order dated December 26, 1917.

The Draft Act forbade the sale of liquor to soldiers in uniform. Subsequently Congress passed an act for general prohibition of intoxicating liquors, to hold from July 1, 1919, till after the end of the war and of demobilization. Finally, a prohibition amendment to the Constitution (the Eighteenth) was submitted to the states and was adopted in January, 1919, to go into effect in one year.

A War Revenue Act was passed, which included very high taxes on incomes and on "excess profits." Within two years

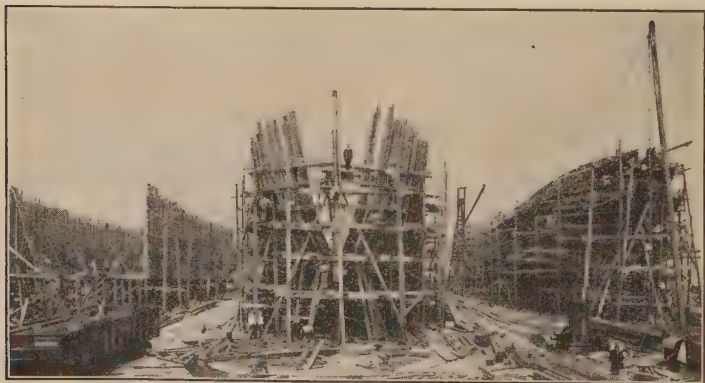
twenty-two billion dollars was easily borrowed from the people, by the issue of Liberty bonds.



Liberty Loan poster

404. **The Situation in Europe.** — The prime purpose of all this energy and expense was to render immediate aid to the Allies, who were hard pushed by Germany. Before the United States entered the war, Russia overthrew its old imperial government, and four months later the nation collapsed. After going through several revolutions, Russia fell under the rule of the Bolsheviki, a group of Socialists who closely approached being anarchists. They made peace with Germany; and thousands of German troops were thus released to fight on the western front.

The desperate submarine warfare of the Germans was not enough to cripple the Allies. Vast stores of food, supplies, and munitions poured from the United States into Europe and enabled the Allies to hold their ground. Meanwhile in



Building wooden ships in a government shipyard

the enormous camps built in the United States, soldiers and officers were trained and new branches of the service were introduced, such as aircraft and gas defense service. The

building of fleets of swift destroyers and submarine hunters and merchant ships was pushed on all the coasts of the United States.

All over the world more nations joined in the war, which seemed likely to destroy all that men hold dear. Portugal came in, and Greece, after the deposition of its pro-German king. Far-off China and Siam declared war on Germany. Cuba, Panama, and several other American powers, including Brazil, took the same side as the United States. Except Holland, Switzerland, Spain, and the three Scandinavian countries, all Europe was at war. None of the lesser powers, however, had the ability to give much help to the gallant armies of Great Britain, France, and Italy on the western front.

405. Winning the War. —

The United States of America alone could turn the scales. June 26, 1917, the first detachment of American troops landed in France under the command of General Pershing, the American commander in chief. By great exertions and the aid of the French and British fleets,

troops continued to pour across the seas, with food and munitions for themselves and supplies for the Allies. The first battle with the Germans on the front was a fight at Seicheprey (April 20, 1918), in eastern France, where the Americans made good.

The Germans realized that the United States was aroused and pouring men and resources into France. They therefore pulled themselves together for a final desperate effort. March 21, 1918, they started a terrific drive in northern France and broke through the allied defenses and by the end of May were a second time within striking distance of Paris.



General Pershing

Under the brilliant command of the French General Foch, the Allies held, aided by the Americans, who had their first big battle with the Germans at Château-Thierry (June). In July Foch attacked, and the Germans began to retreat.



The Western Front

In terrible battles at St. Mihiel and in the Argonne region the Americans showed themselves the equal in fighting qualities to any troops in the world. The battle of the Argonne was the greatest which American troops ever fought.

All the armies from the English Channel to the Adriatic Sea fought desperately, including as many of the two million Americans over seas as were sufficiently trained to go to the front. The Germans were driven back, giving ground every day, but the Americans lost about two hundred and fifty thousand killed and wounded. Seeing that the game was up, the Germans begged for peace, and November 11,

1918, signed an armistice which was a confession of absolute defeat by land and sea.

Under the armistice the Germans withdrew their armies from foreign soil, surrendered their navy and vast quantities of guns, railroad cars, and other property, gave up Alsace-Lorraine, admitted Allied garrisons into western Germany, and agreed to cease from looting and outrage in the regions which they were evacuating.

The day before the armistice the German emperor fled to Holland, and later signed an abdication. Bulgaria in the



General Pershing reviewing American soldiers in France

meantime was conquered, Turkey was totally disabled, the Italians crushed the Austrian army which for more than a year had occupied a corner of northeastern Italy, and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was overthrown.

406. Cost of the War. — To make sure that the Germans should not again break loose, the armistice provided that the Rhine and neighboring territory should be occupied by the Allies. A few thousand American troops were therefore sent to German soil, and steps were swiftly taken to return the others.

Never had the United States of America put such a host into war. By volunteering and the selective draft 3,700,000 men were enlisted.

For its year and a half of war, the United States spent 32 billion dollars, besides 10 billions loaned to the Allies. The total number of men engaged in the war by all nations on both sides was about 60 millions, of whom 8 millions were killed. The United States was engaged so short a time that the losses were small, — 116,000 deaths and 206,000 wounded.

The money cost was far above 32 billions, for hundreds of thousands of young men gave up their business and left their families to defend their country; and scores of thousands of young men and women served at the front in the Y. M. C. A., Red Cross, K. of C., Salvation Army, and other civilian service. At home, hundreds of thousands worked for the soldiers in the great national organizations, of which the Red Cross was the most important. Immense sums of money were raised and great national societies kept up the work of arousing the people and sending out patriotic literature.

407. Efforts to Make Peace. — The armistice did not stop all the fighting, nor make permanent terms of peace. Russia was in the midst of civil war. The old aristocracy was smashed, the Czar killed, and violent Socialists, commonly called Bolshevists, intrenched themselves in power. Austria-Hungary was broken to pieces and some of the fragments began to fight each other. Turkey was crushed, and the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Arabs all tried to gain their freedom. Two years after the nominal end of the war many of those people were still fighting.

The German Empire was overthrown, and for days civil war raged in Berlin and other German cities. For a time it seemed likely that the "Spartacans" or "Reds" would take possession. In February, 1919, a republican government was set up, and later a new federal constitution was adopted, leaving out the emperor and all the former kings and petty sovereigns of the German states. Germany and her allies had stripped themselves of food and supplies in the desperate hope of winning the war; and it took a long time to get started again.

In southeastern Europe the conditions were just as bad. German-speaking Austria, including the city of Vienna, almost perished of hunger. Between Austria and Poland the

Czecho-Slovak Republic was formed out of Bohemia and other provinces of similar Slavic speech. In the south sprang up Jugoslavia, made up of Serbia, Croatia, and other Slav lands. The Italians took Trent and Trieste and part of Albania and claimed Fiume, which was Hungarian before the war.

To make peace in all this turmoil and amidst these conflicting claims was almost impossible. The United States took the lead in 1916, when President Wilson suggested terms of



First meeting of the Paris Peace Conference

peace. January 8, 1918, he laid down "fourteen points" which he said were necessary for any peace that would stand. These included open covenants, openly arrived at; the restoration of Belgium, northern France, and Serbia; the independence of Poland; the self-government of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the Balkan states, and Turkey; and a "League of Nations" to keep the peace after it was made.

In January, 1919, a conference was held in Paris of all the nations at war with Germany, and others which had merely broken off relations with Germany, to draw up a peace treaty. President Wilson was the head of the five commissioners of the United States. In the Peace Conference one of the first steps was to vote for secret negotiations, with occasional

public meetings. The Conference within a week adopted the idea of a League of Nations, and President Wilson took part in drawing up a covenant or constitution for such a League, which he strongly advocated on his return to the United States.

The final treaty with Germany was drawn by the "Big Four," the President of the United States and the prime ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy (sometimes acting with the representative of Japan). June 28 the treaty, including the League, was signed by all the commissioners present except those of China. At the same time President Wilson agreed to a defensive treaty of alliance with France, which feared that Germany would recover and again attack.

In the United States no treaty is binding unless ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. Little opposition appeared to the general treaty, but an attack was made on the League of Nations. In the country at large there was strong pressure, both for and against the League. The Senate proposed a set of amendments and "reservations" which would except the United States from some of the provisions of the League of Nations. Public sentiment was divided into three groups, — friends of the League, which was supported by the President; the out-and-out opponents of the League; and "reservationists."

None of these three groups could command a two-thirds vote in the Senate. In the meantime the President was taken so ill as to be unable, during long intervals, to carry on public business. He announced, however, that the question must be settled by the election of 1920. The other four great powers (and nearly all the other powers concerned) ratified the treaty including the League, and, having thus established peace with Germany, proceeded to put the League into action without the United States. In May, 1920, a resolution passed Congress to declare the war with Germany at an end, leaving out the treaty, but it was vetoed by the President.

408. Results of the War. — The war had serious results in the United States, for the war laws long continued in force. In the Congressional election of 1918 the Republicans secured

a majority in both houses of Congress, and thereafter opposed some of the President's policies. Many of the great national boards, formed during the war of men who were not in public life, such as the War Industries Board, were now abolished. Others, such as the Shipping Board, kept on. Laws were made in aid of the returned soldiers, by giving those who were disabled by the war a chance to learn a trade which would afford them a livelihood. Many of the states voted a money bonus to their soldiers and strong pressure was put on Congress to give money, or land, or both, for the same purpose.

Trade and commerce were active, notwithstanding a rise of prices called "the high cost of living." Farm crops of every kind brought high prices, but it was difficult to find farm labor because high wages drew so many men into the trades. The labor organizations were strong and ordered numerous strikes, usually for higher wages, all over the country, particularly in the shipyards in Seattle, the steel works near Chicago, and the coal fields of the West.

During and after the war a determined effort was made by a set of extreme Socialists to break up the government by force or by votes. Several leaders, or supposed leaders, of this movement were convicted and sent to prison. Some of these disturbers were aliens who had come over to destroy the government. Hundreds of them were gathered up and sent back to Europe as "undesirable aliens." In several states strikers were prosecuted, either on the ground that they were opposed to the government, or that they were interfering with transportation and the production of coal and other staples which were necessary to keep the community going. The country therefore approached the election of 1920 in the midst of confusion and trouble.

409. Election of 1920. — In the Republican convention of 1920 the leading candidates for President were General Wood and Governor Lowden of Illinois, but after a long contest the nomination went to Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio. After a still longer contest the Democrats nominated Governor James M. Cox of Ohio. Senator Harding was elected by a

very large majority; he was supported not only by persons



Warren Gamaliel Harding

who favored reservations in the League of Nations, but also by persons opposed to the League and persons who wished for any reason to express disapproval of President Wilson's administration and policies. The Republicans also secured a large majority in both houses of Congress.

In this election for the first time women voted in all the states on equal terms with men. This right was given them by the

nineteenth amendment to the United States Constitution, proposed by Congress in 1919 and ratified by three fourths of the states in August, 1920.

410. Summary. — A great war broke out in 1914, when Germany and Austria attacked Russia and France, and Great Britain and many other countries were drawn in. The neutrality of the United States was disturbed by the German occupation of Belgium, by the destruction of American ships and lives by German submarines, especially by the loss of Americans on the steamer *Lusitania*. Neutral trade continued, however, with the western Allies.

In 1916 President Wilson was reëlected. He brought about the annexation of the Danish Virgin Islands. Meanwhile the people of America gave money and food to the Belgians, French, and Serbians conquered by the Germans. Turkey joined the war and massacred many Armenians. It became apparent that the United States must go to war with

Germany then, or later. The President, Congress, and the country agreed, and war was declared April 6, 1917.

The United States was unprepared for a great war, but Congress passed many acts for raising an army and the necessary funds, establishing government control of coal and wheat, and prohibiting the liquor traffic.

Russia collapsed, but the United States raised an army of millions and in April, 1918, began to take the field in France. The Germans were defeated, driven back, and compelled to ask for an armistice, which was granted November 11, 1918, and put an end to the fighting in the west.

As soon as fighting stopped the American troops were speedily sent home. Out of 3,700,000 men enlisted, 322,000 were killed, died from disease, etc., or were wounded. The war cost 32 billion dollars besides the services and sacrifices of civilians at the front and at home.

Europe was so confused and broken up by the result of the war that it was impossible to stop the fighting in Central Europe. A Peace Conference was held in Paris in which President Wilson took the lead, especially urging the League of Nations, which was made a part of the peace treaty with Germany. In the Senate there was opposition to the League of Nations, and the treaty was not ratified. The President then appealed to the country to pass upon the question in the next presidential election.

Many of the war measures lasted over and new laws had to be passed for the returning soldiers. Prices rose and the organized laborers asked for higher wages. An effort was made by enemies of the government to break it up by violence. The times were difficult.

In the election of 1920 the Republicans secured a majority in Congress, and elected Warren G. Harding President.

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QUESTIONS

- (§ 400) 1 (For an essay). The usual rights of neutrals in war.
 2. The secret German-American agitation in the United States.
 3. The sinking of the *Lusitania*.
 (§ 401) 4. The party conventions of 1916. 5. What made the United States prosperous during the war?
 (§ 402) 6 (For an essay). The American Red Cross in Europe.
 7. Why did the Turks hate the Armenians? 8. What were the reasons for the United States going to war?
 (§ 403) 9. What were the principal war acts of the United States?
 10 (For an essay). Government management of coal supply.
 (§ 404) 11 (For an essay). Why did Russia break down? 12. How was the army made ready? 13. What other nations took part in the war?
 (§ 405) 14 (For an essay). Experiences of troops crossing the sea.
 15. How did the Americans get into the fight? 16. What were the terms of the armistice?
 (§ 406) 17. What were the number and losses of the Americans in the war? 18. What was the cost of the war? 19 (For an essay). Services of the American Red Cross.
 (§ 407) 20. Results of the war in Europe. 21. How was the treaty made with Germany? 22. Why was it not ratified by the United States?
 (§ 408) 23. Results of the war in the United States.
 (§ 409) 24. Who was elected President in 1920, and why? 25. What was the nineteenth amendment?

APPENDIX A

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(AGREED TO, JULY 4, 1776)

[From a facsimile of the original parchment]

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove

this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. — He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. — He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into

these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our **Brittish** brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. —

We, therefore, the Representatives of the **united States of America**, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, **Free and Independent States**; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy

War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

[Signatures of representatives of the thirteen States, affixed under date of August 2, 1776.]

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

DELAWARE.
CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

RHODE ISLAND.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

MARYLAND.
SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

VIRGINIA.
GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

NEW YORK.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

NEW JERSEY.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JUN.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,

GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

APPENDIX B

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION I. — All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II. — CLAUSE 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

CLAUSE 2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

CLAUSE 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any

State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III. — CLAUSE 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, [chosen by the Legislature thereof,]¹ for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

CLAUSE 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; [and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.]¹

CLAUSE 3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 4. The Vice President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

CLAUSE 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

CLAUSE 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments; when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

CLAUSE 7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV. — CLAUSE 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

¹ Superseded by the Seventeenth Amendment.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V. — CLAUSE 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

CLAUSE 2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

CLAUSE 3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

CLAUSE 4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI. — CLAUSE 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

CLAUSE 2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII. — CLAUSE 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

CLAUSE 2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent,

together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

CLAUSE 3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII. — CLAUSE 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

CLAUSE 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

CLAUSE 4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

CLAUSE 6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

CLAUSE 7. To establish post offices and post roads;

CLAUSE 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

CLAUSE 9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

CLAUSE 10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

CLAUSE 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

CLAUSE 12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

CLAUSE 13. To provide and maintain a navy;

CLAUSE 14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

CLAUSE 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

CLAUSE 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

CLAUSE 17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — And

CLAUSE 18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX. — CLAUSE 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

CLAUSE 2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

CLAUSE 3. No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed.

CLAUSE 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

CLAUSE 5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

CLAUSE 6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

CLAUSE 7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

CLAUSE 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X. — CLAUSE 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

CLAUSE 2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

CLAUSE 3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION I. — CLAUSE 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

CLAUSE 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

CLAUSE 3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

CLAUSE 4. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

CLAUSE 5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the

Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

CLAUSE 6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

CLAUSE 7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II. — CLAUSE 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

CLAUSE 2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

CLAUSE 3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III. — He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV. — The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION I. — The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II. — CLAUSE 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

CLAUSE 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

CLAUSE 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trials shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III. — CLAUSE 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

CLAUSE 2. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

CLAUSE 3. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I. — Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II. — CLAUSE 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

CLAUSE 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

CLAUSE 3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III. — CLAUSE 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts, of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV. — The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amend-

ment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

CLAUSE 1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

CLAUSE 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

CLAUSE 3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

President, and Deputy from Virginia.

(Signed also by thirty-eight other deputies, from twelve States.)

AMENDMENTS

To the Constitution of the United States, Ratified according to the Provisions of the Fifth Article of the Foregoing Constitution

ARTICLE I. — Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peace-

ably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — No soldiers shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII. — In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. — The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the persons voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. — SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the person shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. — SECTION. 2 Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV. — SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume to pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV. — SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI. — The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII. — The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.¹ — SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX. — SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

¹ Ratified in January, 1919.

APPENDIX C—TABLE OF THE STATES

		ADMISSION	PREVIOUS STATUS	CENSUS OF 1920	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES 1913-1923
22	Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	Territory	2,348,174	10
48	Arizona	Feb. 14, 1912	Territory	334,162	1
25	Arkansas	June 15, 1836	Territory	1,752,204	7
31	California	Sept. 9, 1850	Unorganized territory	3,426,861	11
38	Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876	Territory	939,629	4
5	Connecticut	.....	Original state	1,380,631	5
1	Delaware	.....	Original state	223,003	1
27	Florida	March 3, 1845	Territory	968,470	4
4	Georgia	.....	Original state	2,895,832	12
43	Idaho	July 3, 1890	Territory	431,866	2
21	Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	Part of Illinois Territory	6,485,280	27
19	Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	Indiana Territory and part of Michigan Territory	2,930,390	13
29	Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	Part of Iowa Territory	2,404,021	11
34	Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	Part of Kansas Territory	1,769,257	8
15	Kentucky	June 1, 1792	Part of Virginia	2,416,630	11
18	Louisiana	April 30, 1812	Territory of Orleans	1,798,509	8
23	Maine	March 15, 1820	Part of Massachusetts	768,014	4
7	Maryland	.....	Original state	1,449,661	6
6	Massachusetts	.....	Original state	3,852,356	16
26	Michigan	June 26, 1837	Part of Michigan Territory	3,668,412	13
32	Minnesota	May 11, 1858	Part of Minnesota Territory	2,387,125	10
20	Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	Territory	1,790,618	8
24	Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	Part of Missouri Territory	3,404,055	16
41	Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	Territory	548,889	2
37	Nebraska	March 1, 1867	Territory	1,296,372	6
36	Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	Territory	774,07	1
9	New Hampshire	.....	Original state	443,083	2
3	New Jersey	.....	Original state	3,155,900	12
47	New Mexico	Jan. 6, 1912	Territory	360,350	1
11	New York	.....	Original state	10,385,227	43
12	North Carolina	.....	Original state	2,559,123	10
39	North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	Part of Dakota Territory	646,872	3
17	Ohio	Feb. 19, 1803	Part of Northwest Territory	5,759,394	22
46	Oklahoma	Nov. 16, 1907	Indian Territory and Okla- homa Territory	2,028,283	8
33	Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	Part of Oregon Territory	783,389	3
2	Pennsylvania	.....	Original state	8,720,017	36
13	Rhode Island	.....	Original state	604,397	3
8	South Carolina	.....	Original state	1,683,724	7
40	South Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	Part of Dakota Territory	636,547	3
16	Tennessee	June 1, 1796	Territory South of the Ohio	2,337,885	10
28	Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	Independent state	4,663,228	18
45	Utah	Jan. 4, 1896	Territory	449,396	2
14	Vermont	March 4, 1791	Semi-independent state	352,428	2
10	Virginia	.....	Original state	2,309,187	10
42	Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	Territory	1,356,621	5
35	West Virginia	June 19, 1863	Part of Virginia	1,463,701	6
30	Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	Part of Wisconsin Territory	2,632,067	11
44	Wyoming	July 10, 1890	Territory	194,402	1

APPENDIX D — TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS

NO.	PRESIDENT	STATE	BORN	DIED	TERM OF OFFICE	ELECTED BY	VICE PRESIDENT	STATE
1	George Washington.....	Virginia.....	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789-1797.....	Whole people.....	John Adams.....	Massachusetts
2	John Adams.....	Massachusetts.....	1735	1826	One term; 1797-1801.....	Federalists.....	Thomas Jefferson.....	Virginia
3	Thomas Jefferson.....	Virginia.....	1743	1826	Two terms; 1801-1809.....	House of Rep. Republicans.....	Aaron Burr.....	New York
4	James Madison.....	Virginia.....	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809-1817.....	Republicans.....	George Clinton.....	New York
5	James Monroe.....	Virginia.....	1758	1831	Two terms; 1817-1825.....	House of Rep. Republicans.....	Elbridge Gerry.....	Massachusetts
6	John Quincy Adams.....	Massachusetts.....	1767	1848	One term; 1825-1829.....	House of Rep. House of Rep. Democrats.....	Daniel D. Tompkins.....	New York
7	Andrew Jackson.....	Tennessee.....	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829-1837.....	House of Rep. House of Rep. Democrats.....	John C. Calhoun.....	South Carolina
8	Martin Van Buren.....	New York.....	1782	1862	One term; 1837-1841.....	Democrats.....	John C. Calhoun.....	South Carolina
9	William H. Harrison.....	Ohio.....	1773	1841	One month; 1841.....	Whigs.....	Martin Van Buren.....	New York
10	John Tyler.....	Virginia.....	1790	1862	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1841-1845	Whigs.....	Richard M. Johnson.....	Kentucky
11	James K. Polk.....	Tennessee.....	1795	1849	One term; 1845-1849.....	Whigs.....	John Tyler.....	Virginia
12	Zachary Taylor.....	Louisiana.....	1784	1850	1 yr. and 4 mos.; 1849-1850.....	Whigs.....	George M. Dallas.....	Pennsylvania
13	Millard Fillmore.....	New York.....	1800	1874	2 yrs. and 8 mos.; 1850-1853.....	Whigs.....	Millard Fillmore.....	New York
14	Franklin Pierce.....	N. Hampshire.....	1804	1869	One term; 1853-1857.....	Democrats.....	William R. King.....	Alabama
15	James Buchanan.....	Pennsylvania.....	1791	1868	One term; 1857-1861.....	Democrats.....	John C. Breckinridge.....	Kentucky
16	Abraham Lincoln.....	Illinois.....	1809	1865	One term and 1 mo.; 1861-1865	Republicans.....	Hannibal Hamlin.....	Maine
17	Andrew Johnson.....	Tennessee.....	1808	1875	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1865-1869	Republicans.....	Andrew Johnson.....	Tennessee
18	Ulysses S. Grant.....	Illinois.....	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869-1877.....	Republicans.....	Schuyler Colfax.....	Indiana
19	Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Ohio.....	1822	1893	One term; 1877-1881.....	Republicans.....	Henry Wilson.....	Massachusetts
20	James A. Garfield.....	Ohio.....	1831	1881	6 months and 15 days; 1881.....	Republicans.....	William A. Wheeler.....	New York
21	Chester A. Arthur.....	New York.....	1830	1886	3 yrs. 5 mos. 15 das.; 1881-85	Republicans.....	Chester A. Arthur.....	New York
22	Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	1837	1908	First term; 1885-1889.....	Republicans.....	Thomas A. Hendricks.....	Indiana
23	Benjamin Harrison.....	Indiana.....	1833	1901	One term; 1889-1893.....	Democrats.....	Levi P. Morton.....	New York
24	Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	1837	1908	Second term; 1893-1897.....	Democrats.....	Adlai E. Stevenson.....	Illinois
25	William McKinley.....	Ohio.....	1843	1901	One term and 6 mos.; 1897-1901	Republicans.....	Garret A. Hobart.....	New Jersey
26	Theodore Roosevelt.....	New York.....	1858	1919	One term and 3 1/2 yrs.; 1901-09	Republicans.....	Theodore Roosevelt.....	New York
27	William H. Taft.....	Ohio.....	1857	.....	One term; 1909-1913.....	Republicans.....	Charles W. Fairbanks.....	Indiana
28	Woodrow Wilson.....	New Jersey.....	1856	.....	Two terms; 1913-1921.....	Democrats.....	James S. Sherman.....	New York
29	Warren G. Harding.....	Ohio.....	1865	.....	1921-.....	Republicans.....	Thomas R. Marshall.....	Indiana
							Calvin Coolidge.....	Massachusetts

APPENDIX E

LIST OF IMPORTANT BOOKS

(This list is selected from the titles referred to in the chapter references and will be found convenient for ordering books for school and public libraries.)

- Adams, Andy, *Log of a Cowboy*. (Bost., 1903.)
 Adams, Henry, *History of the United States, 1801-1817*. (9 vols., N. Y., 1889-91.) — *John Randolph*. (Amer. Statesmen, Bost., 1900.)
 Addams, Jane, *Twenty Years at Hull House*. (N. Y., 1910.)
 Allen, G. W., *Our Naval War with France*. (Bost., 1909.)
 Altsheler, J. A., *Before the Dawn*. (N. Y., 1903.) — *Herald of the West*. (N. Y., 1898.) — *Last of the Chiefs*. (N. Y., 1909.)
 Andrews, C. M., *Colonial Period*. (Home Univ. Lib., N. Y., 1912.) — *Colonial Self-Government*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1904.)
 Antin, Mary, *Promised Land*. (Bost., 1912.)
 Atkinson, A. M., *European Beginnings of American History*. (Bost., 1912.)
 Avery, E. M., *History of the United States and Its People*. (7 vols., Cleveland, 1904-10.)
 Babcock, K. C., *Rise of American Nationality*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1906.)
 Barnes, James, *For King or Country*. (N. Y., 1895.) — *Loyal Traitor*. (N. Y., 1897.)
 Bassett, J. S., *Short History of the United States*. (N. Y., 1913.)
 Beard, C. A., *Contemporary American History, 1877-1913*. (N. Y., 1914.) — *Readings in American Government and Politics*. (Rev. ed., N. Y., 1913.)
 Becker, C. L., *Beginnings of the American People*. (Riverside Hist., Bost. 1915.)
 Bindloss, Harold, *Cattle-Baron's Daughter*. (N. Y., 1906.)
 Bogart, E. L., *Economic History of the United States*. (2d ed., N. Y., 1912.)
 Brady, C. T., *For the Freedom of the Sea*. (N. Y., 1899.) — *Midshipman in the Pacific*. (N. Y., 1904.) — *On the Old Kearsarge*. (N. Y., 1909.)
 Brooks, E. S., *In Leisler's Times*. (Bost., 1886.) — *Son of the Revolution*. (Bost., 1898.) — *Story of our War with Spain*. (Bost., 1899.)
 Brooks, Noah, *Boy Settlers*. (N. Y., 1891.) — *Washington in Lincoln's Time*. (N. Y., 1895.)
 Brown, W. G., *Stephen Arnold Douglas*. (Riverside Biog., Bost., 1902.)
 Bruce, H. A., *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road*. (N. Y., 1910.)
 Butterworth, Hezekiah, *In the Boyhood of Lincoln*. (N. Y., 1892.)
 Cable, G. W., *The Grandissimes*. (N. Y., 1899.) — *Kincaid's Battery*. (N. Y., 1908.) — *Old Creole Days*. (N. Y., 1897.) — *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*. (N. Y., 1889.)
 Chadwick, F. E., *Causes of the Civil War*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1906.)
 Channing, Edward, *History of the United States*. (4 vols., N. Y., 1905-) — *Jeffersonian System*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1906.)
 Cheyney, E. P., *European Background*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1904.)

- Chittenden, H. M., *American Fur Trade in the Far West*. (3 vols., N. Y., 1902.)
- Churchill, Winston, *The Crisis*. (N. Y., 1902.) — *The Crossing*. (N. Y., 1904.)
- Clemens, S. L. (Mark Twain), *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (N. Y., 1885, later eds.) — *Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. (Hartford, 1876, later eds.) — *Life on the Mississippi*. (Bost., 1883, later eds.)
- Coman, Katharine, *Industrial History of the United States*. (Rev. ed., N. Y., 1910.)
- Conant, C. A., *Alexander Hamilton*. (Riverside Biog., Bost., 1901.)
- Cooke, J. E., *Fairfax*. (N. Y., 1868.) — *Leather and Silk*. (N. Y., 1854.) — *Mohun*. (N. Y., 1896.) — *Stories of the Old Dominion*. (N. Y., 1879.) — *Virginia*. (N. Y., 1903.)
- Cooper, J. F., *Last of the Mohicans*. (Phila., 1826, later eds.) — *Mercedes of Castile*. (N. Y., 1841, later eds.) — *The Pilot*. (N. Y., 1823, later eds.) — *The Pioneers*. (N. Y., 1823, later eds.) — *Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish*. (Phila., 1829, later eds.)
- Craddock, C. E., *Story of Old Fort Loudon*. (N. Y., 1899.) — *Young Mountaineers*. (Bost., 1898.)
- Dana, R. H., *Two Years before the Mast*. (N. Y., 1840, later eds.)
- Dewey, D. R., *National Problems*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1907.)
- Dodd, W. E., *Expansion and Conflict*. (Riverside Hist., Bost., 1915.)
- Dunn, J. P., *True Indian Stories*. (Indianapolis, 1908.)
- Dunning, W. A., *Reconstruction*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1907.)
- Earle, A. M., *Child Life in Colonial Days*. (N. Y., 1899.) — *Colonial Dames and Goodwives*. (Bost., 1895.) — *Curious Punishments of Bygone Days*. (N. Y., 1896.) — *Home Life in Colonial Days*. (N. Y., 1898.) — *Sabbath in Puritan New England*. (N. Y., 1891.) — *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*. (N. Y., 1900.) — *Two Centuries of Costume in America*. (2 vols., N. Y., 1903.)
- Eggleston, Edward, *Circuit Rider*. (N. Y., 1874.) — *The Graysons*. (N. Y., 1888.) — *Hoosier Schoolboy*. (N. Y., 1883.) — *Hoosier Schoolmaster*. (Chic., 1871.) — *Roxy*. (N. Y., 1878.)
- Eggleston, G. C., *Life in the Eighteenth Century*. (N. Y., 1905.) — *Master of Warlock*. (Bost., 1903.) — *Our First Century*. (N. Y., 1905.) — *Rebel's Recollections*. (N. Y., 1905.) — *Southern Soldier Stories*. (N. Y., 1898.) — *Two Gentlemen of Virginia*. (Bost., 1908.)
- Elson, H. W., *Side Lights on American History*. (2 vols., N. Y., 1899-1900, also 2 vols. in 1.)
- Fish, C. R., *Development of American Nationality*. (N. Y., 1913.)
- Fiske, John, *American Revolution*. (2 vols., Bost., 1891.) — *Beginnings of New England*. (Bost., 1889.) — *Critical Period of American History*. (Bost., 1888.) — *Discovery of America*. (2 vols., Bost., 1892.) — *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*. (2 vols., Bost., 1899.) — *Mississippi Valley in the Civil War*. (Bost., 1900.) — *New France and New England*. (Bost., 1902.) — *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*. (2 vols., Bost., 1897.)
- Ford, P. L., *The True George Washington*. (Phila., 1902.)
- Franklin, Benjamin, *Autobiography*. (Many eds.)
- Garrison, G. P., *Westward Extension*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1906.)
- Gordy, W. F., *American Leaders and Heroes*. (N. Y., 1909.)
- Greene, E. B., *Provincial America*. (Amer. Nation, N. Y., 1905.)
- Hapgood, Norman, *Abraham Lincoln*. (N. Y., 1899.)
- Harding, S. B., and Clapp, J. M., eds., *Select Orations Illustrating American Political History*. (N. Y., 1909.)
- Harland, Marion, *His Great Self*. (Phila., 1901.) — *When Grandmamma was New*. (Bost., 1899.)

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Diacritic marks: *â* as in *late*; *ä* as in *fat*; *ü* as in *far*; *â* as in *care*; *à* as in *last*; *u* as in *full*; *œ*, *ch* as in *cask, chasm*; *ç* as in *ice*; *çh* as in *machine*; *ë* as in *me*; *ê* as in *met, berry*, *é* as in *veil*; *ē* as in *term*; *ġ* as in *gem*; *ġ* as in *go*; *ī* as in *tin*; *ī* as in *police*; *ñ*, the French nasal; *ô* as in *note*; *ô* as in *not*; *ô* as in *son*; *ô* as in *for*; *o* as in *do*; *s* as in *news*; *th* as in *the*; *û* as in *tune*; *û* as in *nut*; *u* as in *rude* (= *o*); *u* as in *full*; *ü* = French *u*; *y* as in *my*. Single italic letters are silent.

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